

SOCIOLOGY

— AND —

SOCIAL RESEARCH

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

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SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

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SOCIOLOGY AS A SCIENCE: AUTONOMOUS OR NATURAL?

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ALL CONTEMPORARY sociologists are agreed that sociology, as distinguished from social philosophy, must be developed by the methods of empirical science, that is, by accurate observation, analysis and description of phenomena, and by the formulation and testing of hypotheses to explain the facts described. But at this point they divide into two major methodological schools. One school holds that sociology is an autonomous science, not limited by the presuppositions and procedures of the sciences that deal with physical objects and processes. As an autonomous science it must make whatever assumptions, formulate whatever hypotheses, develop whatever conceptual systems, and adopt whatever research techniques its data may require. The sociologist may and should learn much from his studies in the methodology of the physical and biological sciences; he may and should adapt their methods of quantification and experiment wherever they are applicable to his problems and materials, but he must not be limited by them. In proportion as his data are different, he must be left free to develop a different methodology,¹

¹ For a similar position in Social Psychology, see Kimball Young, "Method, Generalization and Prediction in Social Psychology," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, Vol. XXV, No. 2, May 1933, pp. 33f.

content ultimately to leave to philosophy the task of criticism and synthesis of the methods and results of the various sciences into an organic unity of all knowledge.²

The second, and perhaps at present the most popular, school holds that social phenomena are natural phenomena and that scientific sociology must confine itself to methods analogous to those employed by the natural sciences. Unfortunately, the word *natural* in this context is an ambiguous term. If it is used, as by some writers, merely to emphasize the fact that social phenomena come within the range of common experience or have to do with objects and events occurring in the order of nature, and that they require for their fruitful investigation a dispassionate testing of hypotheses by accurate observation and logical reasoning, there can be no objection to this view. But the methodological school which takes its stand upon this principle, while varying greatly within itself as to the exact connotation of the term *natural*, intends in some manner or degree to equate the social with the physical, to emphasize the greater significance of "objective" or external as opposed to "subjective" or mental data, and to imply that only as sociology is successful in employing methodological assumptions and developing research techniques that are in general analogous to those developed by the physical sciences does it free itself from the swaddling clothes of philosophy and take its rightful place among the sciences.

Among sociologists who have taken this position the thoroughgoing behaviorists have developed the most coherent and consistent body of postulates and techniques considered as a methodological system, however contradictory of man's conscious experience they may appear to be. But here again meanings are uncertain. Because of

² See A. N. Whitehead, *Process and Reality*, Chapter I.

the great popular vogue of the term, many psychologists have hastened to call themselves behaviorists. Actually, they mean nothing more than that "psychology is the positive science of human conduct or behavior"³ or that the laboratory methods employed in the study of animal psychology should be pursued as far as possible in the study of the human subject. Similarly, sociologists have called their work "behavioristic" merely to indicate that they have based it upon as accurate observation of human beings in association as lay within their power.⁴ But in this sense "we are all behaviorists now," and the word ceases to have meaning.

A strictly logical behaviorism bases itself squarely upon the physical sciences and pursues its researches exclusively by the use of physical science methods, with an ultimate view to explaining human conduct, whether individual or social, in purely physicochemical terms. Stimuli are physicochemical objects or processes external or internal to the organism that impinge upon the "receptors" or sense organs and set up physicochemical reactions that are transmitted through the neurones to "effectors" in the muscles and glands, whose integrated responses collectively constitute the behavior of the organism. Behaviorists may admit that we are conscious of a series of mental events, sensations, percepts, images, concepts, affects, and so on, which accompany the physical series, but they insist that scientific psychology can deal with the physical series

³ This definition was advanced as early as 1904 by William McDougall, *bête noir* of the behaviorists, and is still defended by him as the best brief definition. See his "Experimental Psychology and Psychological Experiment," in *Character and Personality*, Vol. 1, No. 3, March, 1933, pp. 202f.

⁴ E. G. Jerome Davis and Harry Elmer Barnes (editors), *An Introduction to Sociology: A Behavioristic Study of American Society*, little of which is behavioristic in any clearly defined sense. So little is the second editor committed to behaviorism that in his *New History and the Social Studies* he proposes that historical biography and cultural and institutional history be rewritten in the light of psychoanalytic concepts. History, if thus rewritten, would undoubtedly gain in vivacity more than it loses in objectivity!

alone, since these alone can be observed and measured, actually or potentially. Although it may be necessary at times to employ words which imply conscious states, this is regrettable and should be avoided wherever possible. Max F. Meyer writes:

We have beforehand decided to reject all terms that have a subjective meaning, that refer to consciousness. . . . for the same reason we avoid here . . . the use of the term sensations. It is far better to use the term *excitations*, which has no subjective meaning. Speaking later in detail of the functions of the several senses, again it will not be advisable to speak of such sensations as green, red, and so on. It is much clearer to use the purely objective term and speak of the specific excitation green, red, and so on.⁵

While the majority of psychologists and sociologists who call themselves behaviorists hold the doctrine in a more or less attenuated form, only those whose position coincides substantially with the foregoing quotation can justly claim to be developing their fields along natural science lines.⁶ Only they are consistently endeavoring to explain human behavior as movements of particles in time and space strictly in accord with mechanistic principles which admit of quantitative verification, and which do not involve reference to conscious states or purposive factors of any kind. If psychologists and sociologists wish to develop "natural sciences" which will be recognized as such by the physicists and chemists, they must be willing to view individual and group behavior in strictly molecular terms, and to adopt for their respective sciences a position as consistently and uncomprisingly mechanistic as Joseph Needham does for biology. Neomechanism, he writes, or mechanism

⁵ In his *Psychology of the Other-One*, p. 17.

⁶ This fact is recognized by the more critical of the "attenuated" behaviorisms. Thus, Edward C. Toland, in his *Purposive Behavior in Animals and Men*, (p. 425) concludes that his "purposive behaviorism" differs "from a true naturalism in that we admit and stress the fact that naturalism is truncated—that it does present a map-account only. If ours is a naturalism, it is a naturalism plus."

entirely dissociated from scientific naturalism as a metaphysical doctrine, "realizes itself for what it is, the backbone of scientific thought in biology, and lays no claim to validity of a philosophic kind If biology is to be a science, in biology it must reign."⁷

But however vigorously the sociologist and psychologist may profess the orthodox mechanistic faith, Needham will never admit them to the blessed fellowship of the scientifically elect, for in his opinion they lack the saving grace of being able to live up to their professions. "The name of science must be withheld from the latter (psychology) because of its qualitative and nonmathematical character," and he asserts that any science whose "story can not be told save in psychological terms" must abandon "all hope of . . . ever becoming an exact science."⁸

This is the only tenable position for one who holds that there can be no science except of those phenomena that can be explained on mechanistic principles. Since the most important events in human experience can not be so explained, we can have no scientific knowledge of them.

"If a man referred to his brother or his cat," says C. D. Broad, "as an ingenious mechanism, we should know at once that he was either a fool or a physiologist." In this little quotation one scents the uncomfortable possibility that its author regarded the two callings as substantially the same, but the Neo-mechanist need have no fear. If he should refer to his cat as an ingenious mechanism, it will only be as a matter of scientific exigency, regrettable, perhaps, but necessary. He has made it perfectly clear that he does not, outside of the laboratory, continue in that attitude, though within it he finds it necessary to act as if it were true. He recognizes the necessity as the only basis for his work, but he does not ultimately honor it.⁹

⁷ "The Sceptical Biologist," in *Hibbert Journal*, Vol. XXV (1926-27), p. 284.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 278f.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 283.

On this basis, there can be no science of human behavior, individual or social, other than the neurophysiology of the total integrated activities of the organism, as the most orthodox sect of behaviorism clearly understands.¹⁰ The strictly logical behaviorist will have to continue to regard any knowledge which he may have of either his cat or his brother, except as an ingenious mechanism, as extra-scientific, or at best as *ad interim* knowledge, to be discarded as rapidly as he is able to reduce it to those physical correlates which alone are real and existential, and therefore constitute the proper subject matter of science.

Whether or not the methodological principles which have resulted in the magnificent achievements of the physical and biological sciences during the past three centuries will prove adequate to continued progress in those fields must be left for specialists to discover, but their inadequacy in the psychological and social sciences is becoming increasingly clear. As Cohen has said, they can give us nothing more than a psychology "which looks back to physics and chemistry for its causal methods and guiding principles, and a mechanistic sociology" which may describe animal events, but which does not get close to the specific structures and processes of human society.¹¹

The dominance of natural science methodology in the study of human nature and culture has led to the neglect of those aspects of social phenomena which do not lend themselves to mechanistic treatment, and it is precisely such aspects which characterize these phenomena as social. For the social sciences are essentially sciences of culture, and culture, as a field of research, possesses characteristics which have no analogues in the subject matter of the natural sciences. It also presents problems which require

¹⁰ John B. Watson, *Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist*, p. 40.

¹¹ Morris R. Cohen, *Reason and Nature*, p. 321.

historical knowledge, critical insight, rational analysis, logical inference, and what Cooley has called "sympathetic introspection,"¹² and for these methods, especially the last, there are again no genuine analogues in physics, chemistry, or biology.

Since the sciences of culture differ from the natural sciences in their subject matter and problems, they require a different methodology for their development. First, cultural phenomena can not be analyzed and described without reference to meaning, which implies conscious states; second, they can not be explained without reference to purpose, which involves a consideration of ends; third, they can not be predicted, except in terms of crude probabilities, without reference to values; and fourth, they can not be controlled without reference to motives, both of which require insight into impulses, wishes, attitudes, and desires.

Cultural phenomena, then, require for their analysis and description not only external observation of material objects and overt activities as do the natural sciences, but also knowledge of the values and meanings which they have acquired in the history of the group which manifests them. The natural science viewpoint, by virtue of its self-imposed limitations, is compelled to ignore the latter, or to reduce them to mere sequellae of the former. As MacIver has said,

It seems thus to attain an objectivity, or rather externality, comparable to physical science. But it is a delusive semblance, since outside the range of reflex action the response is never to externals as such but to externals already transformed into values.¹³

¹² Charles Horton Cooley, "The Roots of Social Knowledge," *Sociological Theory and Social Research*, pp. 289-309.

¹³ Robert M. MacIver, "Causation and Social Process," in Emory S. Bogardus (editor), *Social Problems and Social Processes*, p. 148.

If sociology is to deal with these, it must transcend the limitations of the sciences of external nature and become an autonomous science of society. As such it will no longer decide what cultural problems are available for research by their amenability to investigation according to certain methodological principles, but will permit cultural problems themselves to determine what methodological principles and procedures must be employed.

ÉMILE DURKHEIM'S SOCIOLOGICAL METHOD

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IN BRINGING together in *Les Règles de la Méthode sociologique* a special presentation of his methodology, the author says that, up to the time he was writing, sociologists had taken little care to define the method which they apply to the study of society.¹ Yet we would like to mention Volume I of Le Play's *Les Ouvriers européens*, a volume of some six hundred pages devoted to this author's method of observation.² Durkheim here reveals himself, as have so many others, of having taken no note of this extensive excursion into the field of methodology.

Durkheim commits himself also to a "method of observation" and makes the divisions of his work consist in:

- (1) the precautions to take in the observation of social facts,
- (2) the manner in which the principal problems are to be posited,
- (3) the direction that research is to take,
- (4) the special methods that may be employed,
- (5) the rules that shall be applied to the proofs brought forward.³

¹ Emile Durkheim, *Les Règles de la Méthode sociologique*, huitième édition. Introduction, p. 1. Alcan. Paris. 1927.

"Jusqu'à présent, les sociologues se sont peu préoccupés de caractériser et de définir la méthode qu'ils appliquent à l'étude des faits sociaux."

² Cf. Ethel May Wilson, *Frédéric Le Play: An Analysis and Evaluation of his Method of Observation as a Contribution to the Development of Sociology*. (Unpublished doctor's thesis. Northwestern University, 1933).

³ Emile Durkheim, *op. cit.*, intro., p. 1. "Les précautions à prendre dans l'observation des faits, la manière dont les principaux problèmes doivent être posés, le sens dans lequel les recherches doivent être dirigées, les pratiques spéciales qui peuvent leur permettre d'aboutir, les règles qui doivent présider à l'administration des preuves. . . ."

These precepts, the author says, are implicitly contained in his first work, *La Division du Travail social* and are brought together and submitted to discussion in this volume.⁴

Sociology is for Durkheim a science. Its object is to make discoveries. Its progress is to depend upon boldly facing the results of research.⁵ At the base of his method in sociology is the proposition that social facts shall be treated as things, and not as ideas, that is, they are outside of the individual and do not come from within.⁶

The first chapter of *Les Règles de la Méthode sociologique* is devoted to an analysis of a "social fact." Social facts are social phenomena, but social phenomena with a distinction. "They consist of manners of acting, or thinking, and of feeling, exterior to the individual, endowed with a coercive power by virtue of which they impose themselves on him. Hence they cannot be confounded with organic phenomena, since they consist of representations and actions, nor with psychic phenomena which exist only in and through individual consciousness. They constitute, therefore, a new division, and it is to them that must be ascribed the qualification of social."⁷ In this way Durkheim makes his distinction of the individual and of the social. He goes on to say that the individual is not the substratum for such social facts, but that society is, whether considered as a political group, a religious order, a professional body, or what not. And even outside these

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *Préface*, p. v.

⁶ *Ibid.*, *Préface*, pp. x and xi.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 8. "Ils consistent en des manières d'agir, de penser et de sentir, extérieures à l'individu, et qui sont douées d'un pouvoir de coercition en vertu duquel ils s'imposent à lui. Par suite, ils ne sauraient se confondre avec les phénomènes organiques, puisqu'ils consistent en représentations et en actions; ni avec les phénomènes psychiques, lesquels n'ont d'existence que dans la conscience individuelle et par elle. Ils constituent donc une espèce nouvelle et c'est à eux que doit être donnée et réservée la qualification de sociaux."

formally defined bodies, there are other facts with the same objectivity and the same ascendancy over the individual. These are "social currents," and they pass over one with their coercitive action through contagion. These "social currents" are similar in force to social facts. To illustrate the operation of force controlling individuals and coming from such a conception of social facts and currents, Durkheim takes the case of the way social observances are imposed on the child.

From the earliest days of his life, we force him to eat, drink, and sleep at regular hours . . . later we force him to take others into consideration, to respect customs, conventions; we force him to work This compulsion that the child undergoes is the compulsion of the social milieu, of which the parents and the teachers are only the representatives and the intermediaries.⁸ Hence social facts are beliefs, tendencies, practices of the group taken collectively.⁹

Having thus explained what social facts are, Durkheim comes next to an examination of the manner in which these facts shall be observed. He wants an approach different from either that of Comte or of Spencer, both of whom he accuses of having made ideas the base of their systems, Comte considering the progress of humanity down through the ages¹⁰ and Spencer using a "prenotion," namely, that coöperation with juxtaposition makes a society.¹¹ Such concepts, according to Durkheim, have no place in sociological reality. He would treat social phenomena as things, defining a *thing* as "whatever is given, or offered,

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 11. "Des les premiers temps de sa vie, nous le contraignons à manger, à boire, à dormir à des heures regulieres; nous le contraignons plus tard pour qu'il apprenne à tenir compte d'autrui, à respecter les usages, les convenances, nous le contraignons au travail Cette pression de tous les instants que subit l'enfant, c'est la pression même du milieu social qui tend à le faconner à son image et dont les parents et les maîtres ne sont que les représentants et les intermédiaires."

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

or rather imposed on observation."¹² He goes on to say that "to treat phenomena as things is to treat them as data constituting the point of departure of the science." Never may one presume what is the conventional character of a practice or of an institution, but one must investigate in an objective manner. There is a social discipline to be followed in respect to this.

As corollaries of the rule to "consider social facts as things," we are given,

- (1) to set aside all prenotions¹³ and
- (2) to define the things that one is treating according to certain exterior characters which are common, and to include in the same research all things covered by the definition.¹⁴

This first recommendation must be followed inasmuch as we are so influenced by our ideas that we may run the risk of not being scientific at all, if we have not cleared our minds to start with. Proceeding upon these principles the sociological investigator will be dealing with reality and will not be subject to any individual bias peculiar to him.¹⁵ One may, however, make use of any common concepts that may serve as an indication, in the large, in what direction to turn one's researches. A third corollary is that

- (3) social facts must be considered objectively and should be separated from the individual facts which manifest them.¹⁶ (Statistics furnish the means of isolating them.)

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 35. "Est chose, en effet, tout ce qui est donné, tout ce qui s'offre, ou, plutôt, s'impose à l'observation."

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 40. "Il faut écarter systématiquement toutes les prénotions."

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 45. "Ne jamais prendre pour objet de recherches qu'on groupes de phénomènes préalablement définis par certains caractères extérieures qui leur sont communs et comprendre dans la même recherche tous ceux que répondent à cette définition."

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 55. "On peut poser en principe que les faits sociaux sont d'autant plus susceptibles d'être objectivement représentés qu'ils sont plus complètement dégagés des faits individuels qui les manifestent."

At this point Durkheim turns aside from his presentation of a strictly scientific sociological method and introduces the distinction between the normal and the pathological.¹⁷

Up to this point we had not supposed that the author would be concerned about the ultimate results to society of the facts investigated. But here he declares that this question is one of great importance to society. He asks "what good it will be to strive for a knowledge of what is real, if we are not to use this knowledge in advancing life."¹⁸ The author puts himself on the side of a practical efficacy and will determine the difference between the normal and the pathological in a scientific way. He has three requirements for a criterion of the normal. These are that it shall be exterior, immediately perceptible, and objective.¹⁹ He finds this criterion in the generality of sociological phenomena. He concludes his discussion of this question with the formula: "We shall call normal the facts which present the most general forms and shall give to the others the designation of morbid or pathological."²⁰ Naturally, he says, the consideration of any category must be kept within the same species, or at least, to a single phase of development.²¹ Even then it will be necessary to verify this normal character inasmuch as a custom may no longer be in harmony with the conditions of existence and may thus present only the appearance of normality.²²

Durkheim formulates his reasoning on this point of the normal under the following rules,

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 59-93.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 60. "A quoi bon se travailler pour connaître le réel, si la connaissance que nous en acquérons ne peut nous servir dans la vie?"

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 69. "Cherchons simplement quelque signe extérieur, immédiatement perceptible, mais objectif."

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 70. "Nous appellerons normaux les faits qui présentent les formes les plus générales et nous donnerons aux autres le nom de morbides ou de pathologiques."

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 76.

(1) a social fact is normal for a given social type, considered at a given phase of its development, when it is produced in the average of the societies of that species, considered at the corresponding phase of their evolution,

(2) one can verify the results of the preceding method by showing that the generality of the phenomena depends upon the general conditions of the collective life in the social type considered,

(3) this verification is necessary, when the fact is related to a social species which has not yet accomplished its integral evolution.²³

To show that there is something to the point made, and that it is not just a uselessly complicated procedure, Durkheim applies his rules to the question of crime and comes out with the result that crime is normal.²⁴ Would it not have been sufficient to have left this conclusion at the point that "crime is an integral part of society?"

To provide a field of operation for his social facts, normal and pathological, Durkheim is next concerned with the notion of "social species" (*espèce sociale*). He will determine the parts which make up society.²⁵ For him the simplest society is the horde. This he defines as "a social aggregate which does not now, nor ever has comprised any other more elementary aggregate, and is immediately resolved into individuals."²⁶ That Durkheim adds that perhaps there has never existed such a society, does not keep him from proceeding on the assumption. The indi-

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 80. (1) "Un fait social est normal pour un type social déterminé, considéré à une phase déterminée de son développement, quand il se produit dans la moyenne des sociétés de cette espèce, considérées à la phase correspondante de leur évolution.

(2) "On peut vérifier les résultats de la méthode précédente en faisant voir que la généralité du phénomène tient aux conditions générales de la vie collective dans le type social considéré.

(3) "Cette vérification est nécessaire, quand ce fait se rapporte à une espèce sociale qui n'a pas encore accompli son évolution intégrale."

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 102. "Un agrégat social qui ne comprend et n'a jamais compris dans son sein aucun autre agrégat plus élémentaire, mais qui se résout immédiatement en individus."

viduals in this species are "juxtaposed atomically," and from this point of view Durkheim has made his basic assumption of society, that it is composite and that any explanation of social facts must be made from the viewpoint of the social mind.²⁷

In forming an aggregate, individual minds give rise to a common entity which is a psychic manifestation of a new kind²⁸ and in this must be sought the causes for the occurrence of social facts. Hence the group thinks, feels, and acts differently from what each individual would, were he alone.²⁹

The psychology of social facts must be a collective psychology, and the determining causes of social facts are always in antecedent social facts, and not in any individual conscience.³⁰ There must, however, be something that causes the forward impulsion. This, it seems, the author merely assumes, when he says that an internal tendency must be admitted which impels humanity to go constantly beyond already acquired results.³¹ This seems to me to imply that such a tendency is to be found in the individual; society does not seem to go forward with all the individuals abreast. It is very hard to get the idea out of mind that Durkheim does not consider the individual, despite his frequent assertions that the mind that he has in view is a social mind. This whole connection implies a concept of psychology, that of impulses or drives, and gets away from the author's thesis of the exterior compulsion of social facts. Is this allowed for by his statement that psychology may serve as a propaedeutic to the sociologist?³²

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 136.

In the administration of proof to the application of his method in sociology, Durkheim makes the proposition that a like cause always has a like effect.³³ To show that this is true, the comparative method is the only one that may be used.³⁴ Of the different processes within the comparative method, Durkheim does not consider that they have the same value. The method of residues (*la methode dite des residues*),³⁵ he considers of no use in the study of social phenomena. This method requires the suppression of all the causes but one. In the complexity of social phenomena this procedure, according to him, cannot be followed. Nor can the method of agreement and that of difference be any the better applied to social phenomena.³⁶ To another process, that of concomitant variations (*la methode des variations concomitantes*),³⁷ he ascribes great value. Provided the number of cases studied is sufficient, proof of any relation between them may be established.³⁸ He calls attention in this connection to the possibility that phenomena may be the result of the same cause, or it may be that other conditions enter in, and that care must be taken in interpreting the results.

Durkheim's plan of making all social phenomena derive from the social milieu puts him in the class with social psychologists. Any factor coming from the individual himself is merged into the general stream of consciousness. If we accept his basic principle as being beyond the influence of scientific method, then all manner of proof that he outlines may be said to fall within such limits.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 152, 153.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 158, 159.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 159, 160.

DELINQUENCY AND THE ONLY CHILD

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FORMERLY, authors of articles dealing with the only child were almost unanimous in expressing the belief that the behavior of these children contrasted unfavorably with that of other children. More recently evidence has been presented which indicates that the behavior of children in this position is, on the whole, superior to that of other children. Further research is required to determine which of these views is valid as well as to ascertain on what particular traits the only child is inferior or excels.

The earlier view was in part dependent upon a study made by E. W. Bohannon which appeared in 1898.¹ On the basis of a study of forty-six only children, he reached the conclusion that "These only children are unmistakably below the average in health and vitality," and that "Nervous disorders seem to be unusually common in the families." Moreover, he found that these children appear to enter school later than other children, are less regular in attendance, and that their success in school work is below the average. A large number of them were found not to have as good command of themselves socially as the average child. "Selfishness is most frequently named of the worst traits and affection of the good traits." He states that "As a rule the home treatment has been that of unthinking indulgence." Precocity appeared to him to be the most prominent trait of his subject group.

Cyril Burt states: "The spoiling of the oldest child, the youngest child, and the only child has become a common-

¹ "The Only Child in The Family," *Pedagogical Seminary*, 5: 475-496, 1898, pp. 493-494.

place with those who study the neurotic."² The *Report of the Mental Hygiene Survey of Cincinnati*, conducted by the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, states: "This study shows that those children with marked egocentric make-up came from families where they were the only child."³ Norman Fenton in an article recently published gives a good résumé of several other studies in which the only child is unfavorably presented.⁴

Healy and Bronner in their study, *Delinquents and Criminals: Their Making and Unmaking*, introduce an element of doubt into the picture. They declare:

The oft-recurring statement that the only child is in an unfavorable situation that might readily lead to delinquency finds neither confirmation nor contradiction in our figures, since the only comparison possible is with families of one child who do not become delinquent and about whom we have no statistics. At least we may say that only 10 per cent of 3,000 cases of delinquency are instances of one child in a family, and that does not seem an unduly large proportion.⁵

Alberta Owens, in an article based upon a study of 365 boys who committed 1,100 offenses and who were committed to a special disciplinary school, states: "There seems to be a tendency for the oldest boy in the family to become a behavior problem with little conclusive evidence concerning a child who is the only one, or the youngest, in the family."⁶

A view diametrically opposite to certain of those cited above is taken by Ruth B. Guilford and D. A. Worcester

² *The Young Delinquent*. (New York: Appleton Co., 1925), p. 91.

³ National Committee for Mental Hygiene, *Report of Mental Hygiene Survey of Cincinnati*, 1928, p. 20.

⁴ "The Only Child in the Family," *Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 35:546-554, 1928.

⁵ Healy, W. and A. F. Bronner, *Delinquents and Criminals: Their Making and Unmaking*. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926), p. 103.

⁶ "The Behavior Problem Boy," *Journal of Educational Research*, 20:166-180, 1929, p. 178.

in a comparative study of the only and the non-only child, which appeared in 1930. This was a study of one hundred and sixty-two children of grade 8A in a junior high school. The group was divided into two groups for purposes of comparison: A first group of 21 only children and a second group of 141 other children. Comparing the groups on fifteen measurements or characteristics, they concluded:

1. The average age of the only child and the non-only child in grade 8A is practically the same, 12.86 for the former and 12.99 for the latter.

2. The only child is definitely superior in (a) occupational status of the father, (b) marks received in his school studies and (c) health attitudes and habits, the chances being 1,000 to 1 that this is true.

3. The only child is quite certain to be superior in (a) personal orderliness and cleanliness, (b) initiative, (c) self-control, (d) industry, (e) truthfulness, (f) dependability, and (g) courtesy, the chances being 19 to 1 in his favor.

4. The only child is higher in (a) I.Q., (b) coöperation, and (c) conformity to law and order, the chances being 9 to 1 that he is superior.

5. The only child is slightly superior to the non-only child in fairness, the chances being about 3 to 1 that this is the case.

6. The only child is either equal to or very slightly inferior to the non-only child in voluntary participation in extracurricular activities.

7. Even when we allow for superior I.Q. and higher occupational status of the only children, they are found to be equal to or superior to the non-only child in all but one or two traits.⁷

Valid conclusions concerning the relative incidence of only children in delinquent groups are difficult to formulate for the reason that data concerning the frequency of occurrence of children in this position in comparable non-delinquent groups are lacking. Even within a single city,

⁷ "A Comparative Study of the Only and Non-only Child," *Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 38:411-424, 1930, pp. 423-424. The "chances" cited refer to the probability of obtaining similar differences, if additional samples were to be taken.

the proportion will vary from one area to another with economic status, with average duration of marriage of parents, with nationality composition, and with other variables. In an area where the proportion of youthful parents is high, a large percentage of only children at one time may be substantially reduced at a later date as these families approach completion.

The present study seeks to contribute to the solution of this problem by utilizing a control group for purposes of comparison with a delinquent group. Two hundred and sixty-one Minneapolis school children between the ages of ten and sixteen who were found to be delinquent by juvenile court officers constitute the subject group. They comprise 23 per cent of the total number of Minneapolis school children who were found to be delinquent during the two-year period from September 1, 1928, to September 1, 1930. These children are from certain grade divisions in 19 of the city's 108 public schools, the grade divisions and schools having been selected to afford a cross-section of the total delinquent group which would be representative in terms of the variables: age distribution, grade distribution, and area of residence distribution. The proportion of the delinquent children in these schools who are in the only-child position is also representative of the total Minneapolis delinquent school population, since the percentage of only children in the delinquent group from these 19 schools is almost identical with the percentage found among delinquents from the 108 schools combined. Prior to the selection of the sample, delinquency rates were computed for each of the school areas in the city, for each grade division in every school, and for each age level. The sample contains children from grades three to six in five schools, from grades seven and eight in eight schools, from grade nine in three schools, and from grades ten to twelve in three schools.

No records were on file in the public schools concerning the size of family for the children in these nineteen schools. Hence it was necessary to secure these data directly from the pupils. A printed form was prepared containing these items: name, sex, age, grade, school, number of brothers, number of sisters, ages of brothers, ages of sisters. This record form was given to the pupils by their home room teachers who had been supplied with an instruction sheet defining these items. Special emphasis was placed upon the necessity for inserting the data concerning brothers and sisters in the appropriate blanks or the word *none* if this applied. Records were secured for 13,864 children or 93.5 per cent of the total number enrolled in these schools in the specified grade divisions. Allowing for an average daily absence of five per cent, returns were obtained from approximately 98 per cent of the pupils in attendance on a given day. Two hundred and sixty-one delinquent children from these nineteen schools were then matched with nondelinquent children; each delinquent child was matched singly with a nondelinquent child of the same age and sex, who was attending the same school in the same grade. The diagram below indicates how the matched control group was selected.

DELINQUENT GROUP					MATCHED NONDELINQUENT CONTROL GROUP				
Child	Age	Sex	Grade	School	Child	Age	Sex	Grade	School
X1	12	M	6	Howe	Y1	12	M	6	Howe
X2	14	M	7	Burroughs	Y2	14	M	7	Burroughs
X3	15	F	8	Prescott	Y3	15	F	8	Prescott
X4	16	F	9	Henry	Y4	16	F	9	Henry
X5	16	M	10	South	Y5	16	M	10	South

Thirty-seven delinquent children could not be matched with nondelinquents on these four factors which reduced the subject group to 261 from a total of 298; those excluded were largely retarded and overage pupils. Inability to match these children has approximately parallel effects on

the delinquent and matched control groups and does not appear to alter significantly either of them for purposes of the present comparison.

Computation of the frequency of occurrence of children in the only-child position in the delinquent and matched nondelinquent groups showed 28 only children in the former and 27 in the latter. Since 215 of the 261 children were boys, the group does not contain a sufficient number of girls to give reliable results for them. Twenty-one of the 215 boys in the delinquent group and 22 of the 215 boys in the matched nondelinquent group were in the only child position. This definitely indicates that boys in the only-child position were represented in the group of delinquent children from these 19 schools in almost identically the same proportion as they exist in the comparable nondelinquent population. That the frequency of only children in the delinquent group from these 19 schools is representative of the total Minneapolis school population is indicated by the fact that 10.2 per cent of the 261 children in the sample from these 19 schools were in the only-child position as compared with 10.3 per cent in the total group of 1,046 Minneapolis delinquent school children concerning whom data were tabulated for the two-year period. For the total group, 10 per cent of 874 delinquent boys and 11 per cent of 172 delinquent girls were in the only-child position. It is interesting to observe that the percentage of only children in the group of 1,046 Minneapolis delinquent school children is within three tenths of one per cent of the number found by Healy and Bronner in their study of 3,000 cases of delinquency.⁸

Although use of a matched control group indicates that there is no marked difference as between the relative frequency of only children in the delinquent school group and

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 103.

their frequency in the comparable school population, it may be true that only children have a propensity for certain types of offense. To test this hypothesis, the distribution by offense of only children will be compared with that for the entire group of delinquent school children, undifferentiated for family position. For purposes of comparison, the classification of offenses devised by the United States Children's Bureau for reporting delinquency cases to that office will be employed.⁹ In this comparison the subject group contains children from all of the schools in the city which yielded delinquents in contrast to the former comparison based upon a sample from nineteen schools. In Table I, column (2) indicates the per cent of 88 only children who were charged with each type of offense while column (4) indicates the per cent of 874 delinquent boys, undifferentiated for family position, who were charged with the same offense. The fact that none

TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION BY TYPE OF OFFENSE OF 88 BOYS IN ONLY-CHILD POSITION COMPARED WITH DISTRIBUTION OF 874 BOYS, UNDIFFERENTIATED FOR FAMILY POSITION

OFFENSE	ONLY BOY		874 BOYS		DIFFERENCE
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Per Cent
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Auto stealing	2	2.3	50	5.6	-3.3
Burglary or unlawful entry	11	12.5	112	12.8	-0.3
Other stealing	36	40.9	389	44.1	-3.2
Truancy	1	1.1	31	3.5	-2.4
Running away	2	2.3	4	0.5	1.8
Ungovernable	11	12.5	69	7.9	4.6
Sex offense	5	5.7	32	3.7	2.0
Injury to person	2	2.3	13	1.5	0.8
Act of carelessness or mischief	16	18.2	148	16.9	1.3
Traffic violation	1	1.1	14	1.6	-0.5
Use of liquor	0	----	4	0.5	----
Other offense	1	1.1	8	1.2	-0.1
TOTAL	88	100.0	874	100.0	

⁹ U. S. Dept. of Labor, Children's Bureau, *Revised Instructions for Using Juvenile Court Statistical Cards*, 1931, no. 4365.

TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION OF 19 GIRLS IN ONLY-CHILD POSITION BY THE TYPE OF OFFENSE COMPARED WITH DISTRIBUTION OF 172 DELINQUENT GIRLS, UNDIFFERENTIATED FOR FAMILY POSITION

OFFENSE	ONLY GIRL		172 GIRLS		DIFFERENCE
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Burglary or unlawful entry	0	----	3	1.7	----
Other stealing	8	42.1	38	22.0	20.1
Truancy	0	----	4	2.3	----
Running away	1	5.3	11	6.4	- 1.1
Ungovernable	6	31.6	54	31.4	0.2
Sex offense	1	5.3	48	27.9	-22.6
Injury to person	0	----	1	0.6	----
Act of carelessness or mischief	1	5.3	7	4.1	1.2
Traffic violation	1	5.3	2	1.2	4.1
Use of liquor	0	----	2	1.2	----
Other offense	1	5.3	2	1.2	4.1
TOTAL	19	100.0	172	100.0	

of the differences shown in column (5) is large indicates that, in general, delinquent boys in the only-child position do not differ greatly from other delinquent boys in the types of offense committed. The larger proportion charged with being ungovernable supports the view that parental control over the only boy breaks down more often than is true for boys in other positions. In general, the offenses on which the only boy has higher rates than the average are offenses involving rebellion against restraints set upon individual freedom in personal relationships. This is in accord with the findings of Goodenough and Leahy in their study of behavior problem children. They state: "In general attitude toward authority as indicated by reports of negativism, persistent disobedience in home or school, temper tantrums, et cetera, they show the highest percentage of positive reports. Characteristics of this sort are reported for 71 per cent of the only children as com-

pared to 55 per cent of the oldest, 39 per cent of the middle, and 56 per cent of the youngest children."¹⁰

Table II compares the distribution of 19 delinquent girls in the only-child position with that for 172 delinquent girls, undifferentiated for family position. The percentage of girl offenders in the only-child position who are charged with sex offense is so much lower than that for the entire group of delinquent girls that the probability of a purely chance explanation is remote.¹¹ The question arises: May it not be that the only girl escapes juvenile court action because of wealth or social status of parents? If wealth or social status could keep the only girl from court appearance for sex offenses, it should be even more potent in preventing appearance for stealing where restitution can be made. Yet a greater proportion of only-girl offenders were charged with theft than was found among offenders from families of any other size.

It is well known that policewomen and probation officers sometimes charge girls with being ungovernable instead of with immoral conduct, when the latter is the real reason for their court appearance. When the percentages for these two types of offense are added together for the only-girl offenders and compared with the combined percentage for the entire group of delinquent girls, the difference is substantially the same as it is for sex offense alone. The low rate for the only girl on sex offense is again in agreement with the findings of Goodenough and Leahy in their study of over 300 problem children. Concerning the only child, they state: "Overt sex misconduct appears less than half as frequently in proportion to their number as among the middle children."¹²

¹⁰ Goodenough, F. L. and A. M. Leahy, "The Effect of Certain Family Relationships Upon The Development of Personality," *Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 34: 45-71, 1927, p. 50.

¹¹ Other differences shown in Table II are clearly unreliable, since the number of cases is so small.

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 50.

In search for a reason for this low rate, the distribution by type of offense of girls in the only-child position was compared with that for girls in families where all other siblings are boys. The group of 172 delinquent girls contained 24 in such families. In that group 12 girls, or 50 per cent, were charged with sex offense. Their high rate for sex offense is in distinct contrast with the low rate for girls in the only-child position; this suggests that the lack of brothers retards, and their presence increases, the likelihood of immoral conduct. Girls who have brothers may be more often charged with immoral conduct than the only child because rapport which precedes immoral conduct is more readily established, because of transfer of affection from a brother to another boy, or because fewer inhibitions have been developed surrounding associations with members of the other sex.

Adolescent desires for amatory experiences may be less often satisfied for girls in the only-child position. Their relatively high rate for stealing suggests the possibility that the mental conflict occasioned between these desires and the inhibited modes of response may somehow find a release in the stealing of articles for amusement or personal adornment. Autistic thinking too may be involved. The child has a desire for sexual experience which she recognizes as forbidden; stealing and immoral conduct are both types of forbidden experience; stealing is an alternate form of forbidden experience against which inhibitions are less restraining.

William Healy, in his book *Mental Conflicts and Misconduct*, calls attention repeatedly to the frequent liaison between stealing and disturbing sex knowledge in those cases of delinquency which involve mental conflict. He says:

The effect of illicit sex knowledge acquired very early in life may be to produce a severe mental conflict, with vicarious reactions fol-

lowing in the form of misconduct. The cases given below (those in Chapter XI) demonstrate that secret sex knowledge in early childhood may constitute an unfortunate "mental complex," quite as severe in its effects as when the original experience has been physical."¹³

How does first realization of the nature of sex relationships between *parents* change the child's mental picture of them? As a speculative hypothesis, it is conceivable that the child, lacking careful instruction concerning this phase of human relationships, may not readily perceive what is socially acceptable in this realm where tabu holds sway. If the child comes to view such parental relationships as a form of misconduct, this could easily lead to an urge to perform acts which have been forbidden by parental authority. The only child, dependent to a greater extent upon parents for companionship, may react in this way more often than children in other positions. Assuming that immoral conduct is abhorrent or that opportunities are not available, stealing as a form of forbidden behavior would bring the child to the attention of juvenile court officers more readily than almost any other type of misconduct in which the child might engage.

¹³ *Mental Conflicts and Misconduct*, (New York: Little, Brown and Co., 1917). Cases cited in chapters XI and XIV are particularly relevant to the present discussion.

STUDENT - TEACHER RELATIONSHIPS

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FOR a number of years the authors have contemplated making a study of the reactions of students to their best liked and most disliked teachers, but difficulties inherent in such a study caused us to hesitate. Professional ethics and the disapproval of unpopular instructors lend administrative difficulties; the student dislikes to express himself freely in regard to disliked teachers; he is likely to give his reactions in abstract terms or in socially accepted platitudes with reference to no particular person or school-behavior situation; if confined to present persons and situations, he is too much a part to view them unbiased; and if restricted to the past, he is likely to overlook many of the finer relationships or to rationalize concerning others. These and other limitations caused us to devise an anonymous two-part questionnaire, one section dealing with reactions toward present instructors and the other toward grade or high school teachers. These were submitted to 122 university students, all upper-classmen. As each student gave his reactions toward four teachers, this study consists of 488 cases.

PART I: STUDENT REACTIONS TO UNIVERSITY FACULTY OPPOSITES

The student was requested to fill duplicate sheets, one for X, his best liked teacher within the past three quarters, and one for Y, his most disliked instructor for the same period. He was asked to check the statement that most nearly expressed actual conditions or his present reaction. The results in percentages were found to be as follows:

STUDENT REACTIONS TO FACULTY OPPOSITES IN PERCENTAGES

<i>Questions</i>	<i>Best Liked Teacher</i>	<i>Most Dis- liked Teacher</i>
✓ 1. Do you and this teacher exchange greet- ings outside the classroom?		
Often	91	28
Occasionally	7	48
Never	2	24
2. Do you cross the street to meet this teacher or try to find an excuse for talking with him?		
Often	12	1
Occasionally	44	4
Never	44	95
✓ 3. Do you go to him for advice about your class or other college affairs?		
Often	19	1
Occasionally	53	16
Never	28	83
✓ 4. Do you talk confidentially with him about your personal problems (love affairs or family troubles)?		
Often	4	0
Occasionally	16	1
Never	80	99
5. Does he personally inquire why your work is poor (if so)?		
Often	19	7
Occasionally	44	15
Never	37	78
✓ 6. Does he praise you for a good recitation or piece of written work?		
Often	14	1
Occasionally	48	23
Never	38	76
7. Does he volunteer to defer a test or writ- ten assignment to enable you to partici- pate in outside activities?		
Often	10	1
Occasionally	40	14
Never	50	85

<i>Question</i>	<i>Best Liked Teacher</i>	<i>Most Dis- liked Teacher</i>
✓ 8. Do you feel self-conscious in his presence?		
Markedly	2	7
Somewhat	30	27
Not at all	68	66
✓ 9. Do you speak out in his class?		
Often	50	22
Occasionally	38	41
Never	12	37
✓ 10. Would you be afraid to contradict him about a statement in which you are posi- tive he is mistaken?		
Yes	17	24
No	83	76
11. Does he attend athletic games in which you participate or attend?		
Often	25	7
Occasionally	50	46
Never	25	47
12. Is he present at social functions which you attend?		
Often	12	1
Occasionally	53	35
Never	35	64
13. How do your grades rank in his classes?		
High	20	8
Medium	72	44
Low	8	48
14. How do you regard these grades?		
Too high	1	1
Satisfactory	87	41
Too low	12	58

PART II: STUDENT REACTIONS TO GRADE AND
HIGH SCHOOL FACULTY OPPOSITES

The group was asked to select from among their grade and high school teachers "one who now stands out as the one you liked best at that time," and "one who now stands

out as the one you disliked most at that time," and to analyze these teachers according to the following questions:

1. Describe an episode or social situation showing what this teacher did to cause you to like (or dislike) him.
2. Mention any other qualities or cite any other episodes showing the reason for your liking (or disliking) him.
3. Do you still keep in touch with this person? *If* so, in what way?
4. What has happened since to change your opinion of this person?
5. Were your attitudes at the time shared by the majority of your classmates?
6. In what ways, if any, has your relationship with this teacher caused you to like (or dislike) other people, places, subjects, organizations and the like?

Some confessed to having no especially liked or disliked teachers, and others explained that none of their teachers had possessed all liked or all disliked characteristics. Nevertheless, they complied with our request and the meaningful statements are presented in rather broad categories.

Thirty-eight per cent indicated general friendliness and sociability as a trait in their best-liked teacher. He "talked with us and not at us," "he invited us up to his room," or she "talked to us girls when we were blue." According to a zoology student, she "felt free to sit beside me and make herself much at home." As a rule the other teachers seemed to elevate themselves above the student, but Miss X brought herself to the level of the student and remained there as much as possible." Twenty-one per cent mentioned that the favorite teacher took a personal interest in students, letting them "finish an examination late," "getting assignments and giving tests to me when I was sick," and spending "a whole afternoon reversing a careless attitude

✓ of mine." (Instead of reporting a boy who was drunk, Miss X

sat out the next dance with him. She made an offer which might have cost her position. She promised not to report him if he would stop drinking and to pass him in English. In breaking a rule, she influenced a boy to live better. Afterwards he went to college and is now making fine grades.

✓ However, there are certain dangers; the teacher may advance too far in the relationships of his pupils. Thirteen per cent disliked teachers for meddling in their affairs. One high school boy felt like "socking" his instructor for trying "to take our girls from us at dances" and a high school girl despises her former teacher, a middle-aged man with a family, on account of his interests in her friendship with a fellow student.

One evening he saw me at the theater with a boy. Next day he asked what we did on the way home and was careful to have me sit next to the same boy in class. On my birthday, he turned the class into a party for me.

✓ For sixteen per cent the best-liked teacher always had "a pleasant smile" and for fourteen per cent "he was always understanding." Twelve per cent called attention to acts of good sportsmanship, and one described how a young woman "assumed an embarrassing rôle to save a student." The same percentage appreciated that the favorite teacher could "see through our eyes" and "encouraged us to defend our own points." Eleven per cent recalled the best-liked teacher "had a strong sense of honesty" and a similar percentage remembered that they had been "praised" or that "she never wanted us to be discouraged." Eight per cent, mostly girls, had not forgotten how "attractive and neat he looked." Seven per cent lauded the tact of former teachers—the chief element in good sportsmanship. A high school boy explained:

Two boys had a special liking for the same girl, and were much excited over which one should take her to the refreshment booth. The situation was growing more tense every minute and a good old-fashioned fist fight seemed probable. Mr. X noticed the trouble and went over and informed the boys he would take her to the booth himself. Without doubt the act, not very big at the time, saved the party for the rest of us. ✓

On the other hand, two per cent gave tactlessness as a principal reason for teacher dislike. Mrs. Y. was given as an example.

She tore a girl's dress sleeve in punishing her. The girl was very angry, and went home at recess to report the happening to her parents. She was late in returning, and the teacher was very angry at her for leaving without permission. An argument followed and ended by Mrs. Y's chasing the girl through the main street of the town about a quarter of the way home. After such a procedure I had little respect for this teacher. Although the pupil was insolent and saucy the response was hardly a fit one for a teacher to make.

✓ Twenty-five per cent described the most disliked teacher as being crabbed and sarcastic—"always trying to make a fool of me." "That translation was very good hash," "your map looks like grandmother's patchwork quilt," and "Can't you think of something more sensible to ask?" are unforgotten comments. Nineteen per cent analyze the same tendency as being due to the teacher's superiority complex. One high-school teacher was despised because she "unceasingly employed \$10 words to us, her pupils, to express her penny learnedness," and another for her habit of *Read*

scaring green girls. She took great pleasure in scolding us for making a noise. She, being large and having a loud voice, wanted to make all the noise, gobble up the attention, spread her opinions to students and faculty with a flare of trumpets, and be the whole show. *Read*

Apparently some of these cases of superiority complexes were tinged with neuroticism.

Miss Y, a deaconess, called another girl and myself into her office and with stern mouth and flashing eyes demanded that we apologize to her for whispering during chapel exercises. We said we were sorry to God for showing irreverence in *His* house, but that we felt no need to apologize to *her*. She was infuriated and took the matter up with the principal. What followed is another story. She antagonized us by her domineering manner, her demand for respect, and her offended manner at the slightest neglect.

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Eight per cent diagnosed their marked dislike as being wholly or partly due to the peculiar mannerisms of the teacher. While the "er-er-er habit," the "You answer *that*," accompanied by a poke of the finger," always "being in a riot," and "spraying moisture when she talked" are not in themselves incurable peculiarisms, they keep "our nerves on edge" and the teacher "at a distance."

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The other qualities are more directly related to the classroom situation. Twenty-one per cent liked their teachers because they were "impartial consistently," and eleven per cent disliked their instructors for "petting the boys," being "soft on the girls," "laughing at the clothes of poor children," or "catering to the rich." One disfavored pupil put his teacher to a test. He took a theme "written by one of her pets and graded at 90, copied it word for word, handed it in, and received a grade of 60." Although this test did not prove his point, as the teacher may have failed him for copying another's work, the incident discloses the fact that imagined as well as actual discrimination helps to shape the student's behavior pattern toward his teachers.

Skill as a teacher received recognition: twenty per cent praised the favorite teacher's mastery of subject matter and methods of instruction, and eighteen per cent censured the disliked teacher's inefficiency in these respects. Twenty per cent reacted favorably to the best-liked teacher's stiff marks and strict discipline, while ten per cent regarded with disfavor the disliked teacher's practices in

grading and her methods of discipline. They did not approve of "writing multiplication tables for accidentally dropping a pencil" or "strapping students for imagined noises which were afterwards found to be a defect in her hearing."

The remaining responses deal with the development, strength, and influence of the attitudes just described. Forty-eight per cent correspond with or have occasional visits with the best-liked teacher as compared with four per cent who retain contacts with the most disliked teacher. However, these early impressions have remained practically unchanged; only twenty mutations have taken place. Eight liked and eight disliked teachers have risen in student estimation. The teacher who has carefully taught and thoughtfully advised the student is better appreciated when the student makes good in his work and participates in college activities. Rapid promotion or popularity with successive classes also increases student admiration for a former teacher. More mature reflection on the physical and economic handicaps of disliked teachers causes them to be better liked. Occasions, as bereavement in the student's family, have revealed qualities that the pupils did not suspect. On the other hand, two liked and two disliked teachers have suffered depreciation—one for no apparent reason, one because she stooped to undignified attempts to hold a student's love, and two because their students entered a different environment and no longer enjoyed silly jokes and boisterous conduct. At their inception these reactions were shared by the majority of the class. Only five per cent confess that they were in the minority in liking the teacher; one per cent in disliking him. Six per cent admit that they joined with their sex in reacting toward the teacher.

The last question proved the most difficult. These students realized that they were not mental analysts and were

unable to determine the influence of the two teachers on their behavior. Nevertheless, eighty-eight of the liked teachers and seventy-two of the disliked were reported as having influenced students in one or more ways. Twenty-two per cent trace their fondness for a subject to the favorite teacher's instruction, and thirteen per cent their dislike to a similar source. Nine per cent are now majoring in the favorite teacher's subject, and the same number are members of that teacher's college, or fraternity. On the contrary, two per cent were definitely turned from the teacher's alma mater because of the "teacher's superiority complex" and because "I could hold no respect for a college that would turn out such a thing as he was." Through disliked teachers, the same percentage lost respect for the teaching profession.

Seventeen per cent claim to have been conditioned to like people representing the best liked teacher's type, or to admire in others characteristics possessed by this teacher, and sixteen per cent state that they have been conditioned against the disliked teacher's type or dominant traits. They are "skeptical of all women who wear long skirts and their hair in a knot," detest "the wise guy and hope the schools will soon eliminate her kind," will "forever avoid people with sneaky eyes and forced smiles," and could "like anybody the opposite of that human specimen."

Sixteen per cent mention a less tangible effect—a change in the outlook of life. These changes, attributed to the relationship with the best liked teacher, are variously described as a tendency "to look for the good in others," to "size up people for their true worth," to "get me out of the narrow rut of my own thinking," to "demonstrate that goodness has its own rewards," to "make me confident of my own abilities," and to help me establish high ideals for solving my own problems."

GENERAL SUMMARY AND ITS EDUCATIONAL AND
SOCIOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

Read 1. The investigation has revealed that teachers who have been friendly, sociable, and personally interested in the welfare of their students have been the best liked, and that those who have lacked these characteristics have been most disliked. Part II, being of the essay type, gave further insight into students' reactions to their teachers. The best-liked teachers also possessed traits of cheerfulness, sympathy, good sportsmanship, appreciation for students' own views, honesty, tendency to praise, neatness, and tact; while the most disliked instructors displayed characteristics of sarcasm, superiority complex, meddlesomeness, and peculiar mannerisms. Inside the classroom the favorite teacher encouraged the students to do their best work, was impartial, knew the subject thoroughly, managed the class skillfully, and was precise and strict. On the contrary, the most disliked teacher was not a master of the subject taught, showed an inability to handle the recitations or disciplinary problems, and was inclined to be partial to certain students.

These findings have several implications, which may be summed up as follows: The personality of the teacher and its effects on the student have not been sufficiently emphasized.

Read 2. The apparent indifference to grades in the grade and high schools and the association of low marks with teacher dislikes reveal an unhealthy growth in our college system. The student must make a required average to remain in college, play football or other games, make a social or scholastic fraternity, and be recommended for a position. If he does not make the average, his rationalization often places the blame on the professor who is striving just as diligently, if not more so, to uphold the scholar-

ship of the college. Furthermore, the professor is often so burdened with class preparation, numerous classes, various extra services, and the necessity to conduct research and write in order to gain professional recognition that he does not have time and energy to be sociable and help students individually, much as he would like to do so.

3. Looking at the student-teacher relationships from the point of view of personality conditioning, we find that students acquire personal biases, bitter prejudices, unreasoning likes and dislikes, and other mental acquisitions through association with certain types of teachers and that they retain these. These reactions they transfer to other persons, who happen to resemble the former teacher or display some of this person's characteristics, to subjects which the teacher taught, and even to places associated with the instructor. Thus these secret controls¹ serve to warp and distort the personality of the student and to affect his socialization into the groups of which he later becomes a member.

¹ This concept has been presented by one of the authors in the *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. II, pp. 300-09, and *Backgrounds for Sociology*, pp. 767-70.

AN ACCOMMODATION PROGRAM FOR SECOND-GENERATION CHINESE*

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THE PROBLEM of second-generation Chinese has, from time to time, appeared in periodical literature both in this country and in China. We hear complaints and indictments from both Chinese and "the 100-per-cent Americans"; we observe a general attitude of heedlessness and desperation among many young victims of circumstances; and, though less commonly, we hear suggestions for the solution of the problem. But after all there seems still to be a need for an accommodation program for second-generation Chinese.

The following program is based on the writer's observations and contact with the Chinese youth in this country during the last five years. A recent discussion of the program with many leaders of the group encourages the writer to publish it in order to reach more Chinese youth and secure coöperation from those who are sympathetic with or actually working for the welfare of the Chinese in America. The salient purpose of the writer is to stimulate thinking as well as action.

WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PROGRAM?

The problem of second-generation Chinese generally involves the following groups: the American public, the Chinese parents, the teachers in public schools, the teachers in the Chinese-language schools, the Chinese children, and

*The writer is greatly in debt to Dr. Emory S. Bogardus and Dr. Clarence M. Case for the title and many other suggestions.

the grown-up, second-generation Chinese. To consider the question from a practical point of view, however, we shall lay the responsibility only on those who could help in part to avert the existing situation if they would. For this reason the following groups are selected for the discussion, and special stress will be placed on the grown-up second-generation Chinese.

The Public-School Teachers. Theoretically speaking, the teachers in the public schools attended by the Chinese children are best qualified by their training, experience, and duty to give the children a good preparation for an efficient life in America. However, many conscientious teachers frankly told the writer that they could hardly do so because of their inability to understand the children's language, home conditions, and future cultural and vocational possibilities. What we can hope from these teachers, therefore, is: (1) that they will do their best to prevent the breeding of racial prejudice among the children; (2) that they will provide an equal opportunity for the Chinese children to participate in all social and extracurricular activities in school; (3) that they will constantly keep in mind that there are some special needs and interests of the Chinese children which should be provided for; and (4) that if the public school cannot make such provisions for one reason or another, a considerable amount of liberty and stimulation and encouragement should be given to those agencies which may possibly fill the gap.

The Teachers in the Chinese Schools. The teachers in the Chinese-language schools have a good many advantages over public-school teachers in the matter of practical education for the Chinese children. They speak the children's language. They could approach the parents easily and understand the pupils' home conditions, if they would like to do so. By their experience in China and in America,

they should also be able to understand the needs of the children with regard to their future cultural and vocational possibilities. As the Chinese parents generally respect the teachers, according to the Chinese tradition, the teachers in the Chinese school should be in the position to determine what will be most practical and useful for the children to learn in school.

However, all these assumptions will never become true unless there are in the Chinese schools a few who have had adequate training in modern educational work, while the majority of the faculty have the courage to stand for educational reform. So long as there are few who really know what and how to teach, and so long as most of the teachers are in fear of losing their jobs for proposing anything disagreeable to the parents, the natural outcome of the Chinese school will continue to be: (1) that most of the children may waste five or six years there without getting an adequate and practical knowledge of Chinese language and culture; (2) that the difficulty in learning Chinese with the old method and material of teaching may kill the interest of the child for further schooling and learning things Chinese; (3) that the nonactivity program, as in many of the existing Chinese-language schools, for the already tired children after long hours in the public school, may hinder their physical and mental growth; and (4) that the over-emphasis on order, obedience, submission, nonaggression, and memory in some of the Chinese schools may cultivate undesirable traits, which will prevent the younger generation from being able to live efficiently in a dynamic society.

One way which the writer may suggest to the Chinese teachers, therefore, is that they should, in the first place, organize themselves for professional improvement in teaching and learning. Secondly, they should plan to make a

thoroughgoing study of the educational needs of the Chinese in America and then, upon facts found out, plan for a practical and efficient program to improve the existing conditions. Lastly, and most important of all, they should always stand like men of the profession.

The Parents. The real factor which controls the fate of the younger generation Chinese is, after all, the parents. Their spheres of influence are both the home and the Chinese-language school.

To be good parents they have to learn modern ways of raising and educating children; for without such knowledge they will not be able to perform their duty and realize their true love. They must know that home environment affects the personality and the future life of the child, and, therefore, must try, as far as their economic conditions may allow, to provide a wholesome home. With regard to their relationship with the Chinese-language school, the writer has found out that they should change their present attitude along the following lines: (1) they must know that education for the children is far more than a mere matter of family pride or tradition—it should be a thing which will make the young worthy members of the society in which they are going to live; (2) they should not judge the type of education desirable for their children by the standards of their own generation; and (3) they should not select any teacher either because he is their kinsman, or because he is poor and needs a job, or because he came from the same district as they did—for teachers selected by standards other than training, ability, personality, and scholarship will have irremediable effect on the children.

The Chinese parents never lack parental love; nor do they ever lack zeal for providing good educational opportunities for their children. What is needed, therefore, is chiefly an efficient system of adult or parent education,

where they can learn all that a good modern parent has to know.

The Grown-up Second-Generation Chinese. As far as the writer can observe, it seems pretty hard for the aforementioned groups to break the existing tradition. It seems to be more logical for us to tie our final hope to the grown-up second-generation Chinese, who have suffered many unendurable consequences of the old régime, and whose experience in different cultural patterns may enable them to interpret the cause and effect of the existing situation and to determine the more desirable course for the generations coming after them.

Unfortunately, most of the grown-up second-generation Chinese do not seem to recognize their unique situation, and face reality bravely. Thus, we find one intelligent writer describing her fellow second-generation Chinese as follows:

That the so-called second-generation problem is not of our making, as we are mere victims of an environment forced upon us from a generation or two ago; and that we are not responsible for the plight in which we found ourselves; that it is not necessary to remind us American-born Chinese of our difficult situations and that we will do the best we can to make a living somehow and have a good time, seem to be a natural opinion for some of us to hold. "Life is short. What difference will it make anyway, a hundred years from now?" This quotation, it seems to me, represents this passive sentiment.¹

This attitude is what we may call "a philosophy of free and easy life." When such a conception of life dominates the sentiment of youth, we can hardly expect anything constructive from them.

¹ Alice Fong, "A Challenge To The Chinese American," *The Western Student* (an occasional supplement to *The Chinese Christian Student*), November 23, 1932.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON
"THE PHILOSOPHY OF FREE AND EASY LIFE"

Generally speaking, people may live in three different ways: (1) to the people of a static society, where everything is endeared by its long association with the individual, life is lived in the main, for the past and man becomes the slave of traditions and customary practices. Any change in the existing order of things would immediately disturb the individual and deprive him of the equilibrium of life. Such people are generally sentimental and often afraid of using any reasoning about things as they have been; they are conservatives—the worshipers of the radicals of the past—and can hardly make adequate adjustment in life in modern society, where mobility of things is a rule rather than an incident.

(2) To the innocent and carefree youth, life is generally taken playfully and cheerfully and for immediate pleasures. They leave the past ruthlessly behind them as the past, and consider any question about the future as silly and nonsensical. They are Epicureans, but cannot be called optimists, because they never have a sense of the future at all. This attitude is especially common among the younger generation of the well-to-do and the wealthier classes of any society. When questioned, these young men often rationalize themselves as wise men who know how to enjoy life while it can be enjoyed. But they will someday discover their fallacy and regret that it is too late for regret.

(3) To the ambitious youth, men of promise, idealists, religious persons, and some philosophers, life appears in various degrees between dream and constructive plan for the future. They can sacrifice any present pleasure for future grandness or for the life to come. They are promising, but their success in the worldly sense of the term will

depend on their ability to see the continuous life processes between the present and the future. The overambitious will not only miss much in the past and present life, but may also be easily disappointed in the future for having too much expectation.

The social and economic conditions of the Chinese youth in the United States are conducive to the second type of attitude towards life. It is not that the Chinese here are all well-to-do. It is, on the contrary, because the Chinese American cannot have much cultural, social, and especially economic, outlook. On the one hand, the dynamic forces of the American society compel him to give up the static conception of life, though it has been the philosophy of his forefathers. On the other hand, the lack of opportunity and outlook as compared with other dominant races in America will naturally prevent him from adopting the third type of attitude mentioned above.

But things that seem to be natural are by no means necessarily desirable or justifiable. For the time being, the Chinese youth here may of course hold "the philosophy of a free and easy life," but they should not forget that a "free and easy life," as the term is used here, is always conditioned by the social and economic situations of the country, and that in a dynamic society the social and economic conditions, especially those of the Chinese as a group, are liable to unexpected changes—the present depression is an excellent illustration. Thus, if our youth do not have anything dependable and firm irrespective of changing circumstances, how long will they be able to hold such a "philosophy?"

Furthermore, the so-called free and easy life is generally based on things superficial and temporary. The happiness derived from such a conception of life is also necessarily superficial, temporary, and often at the expense of greater

happiness. As human beings, we must be able to live on a higher level than lower animals for whom life is not much more than a continuous change between pleasure and pain.

Besides this practical conception of life, the Chinese youth still need a more aggressive attitude towards the life situation. We often hear Chinese people in this country complaining against "racial prejudice" and "inequality of opportunities." These and other unjust racial relationships undoubtedly exist, but the fault is really ours if we do not try to show and prove to other people that their conception of our race is wrong. We must know that the undesirable things in life are generally very much like bad dogs; the more we try to run away from them, the more fierce will they become. As a race, we Chinese have too long been taught to be modest and self-reserved. These were supreme qualities in the good old days. But in a dynamic age we should be more aggressive in dealing with situations.

A TENTATIVE OUTLINE OF WHAT A SECOND-GENERATION CHINESE SHOULD DO

In accordance with the above conception of life we may draw a tentative outline of what the second-generation Chinese should do, from which a detailed program may be made with reference to specific situations. This outline may be divided into two parts:

(A) *Concerning the Individual.*

1. Build up a good workable philosophy of life through reading, thinking, and careful observation.
2. Keep one's life problem in mind constantly; do not live for the present alone, especially when it is detrimental to future and greater happiness.

3. Select, as early as possible during high school years, something for a life career; and stick to it, utilizing every possible opportunity to develop one's capacity and skill along the same line.
 4. The subject for specialization should be based on four important considerations: (a) one's true interest; (b) personal capacity—both mental and physical; (c) one's social and economic resources; and (d) the future needs and possibilities of the community in which one is going to live.
 5. Determine to eliminate any habit that will keep one from higher ideas and greater achievements in the future.
 6. Keep the attitude of the older generation toward hard work.
 7. Pay close attention to the social, economic, and political problems of America, China, and the world at large.
 8. Cultivate as deep an interest in the life career as one does in games; remember that the game of good life is of course hard to play and cannot be readily appreciated, but the enjoyment it brings will be everlasting.
 9. Do not live for self; cultivate the spirit of sacrifice and do so wisely.
 10. Be ready to cooperate with the good and stand against the evil.
 11. Try to understand the viewpoints of people of different social and cultural backgrounds.
 12. Never limit one's social circle to people of one's own race; remember that the best way to enrich life experience is to associate with good people of different nationalities.
 13. Be able to face reality bravely and stand any kind of criticism.
 14. Try to have a practical knowledge of Chinese language and culture, instead of attempting to know many other languages.²
- (This is for both cultural and vocational purposes: Culturally,

² By "practical knowledge of Chinese language and culture" we mean that the second-generation Chinese should learn the most popular language of modern China, instead of learning classical Chinese with Cantonese colloquial expression, as most of the Chinese-language schools here are doing. According to a recent report of the Chinese National Association for Mass Education Movement, "mandarin" or its slight modification, is used by about 80 per cent of the people in China, and it can be put down in writing to form the popular written language of China today, while the Cantonese dialects are used only by people in and from Kwangtung province and do not have corresponding written expressions. This modern Chinese language is also much easier to learn than the classical Chinese. The writer has had two years of experience in teaching in connection with our experimental mass education movement, which has convinced him that it is a fact rather than speculation that the illiterate Chinese farmers and village children can master considerable reading and writing ability of modern Chinese language by spending only one hour a day for four months in the so-called "popular schools."

the intelligent citizens of America now have a growing interest in things Chinese, and their vision in the future development of international relations of the Pacific has convinced them of the need of the American people to have a better understanding of oriental culture and languages. Thus, it is both the opportunity and duty of the Chinese-American to be the medium of culture diffusion and the representative of the better part of the Chinese civilization. As for vocational purpose, a practical knowledge of Chinese language and culture will increase his vocational mobility, both vertically and horizontally.)

15. Start life anew; do not lament over what has been wrong, unless it can serve as an incentive for a better life.
16. Be determined to make opportunities, instead of waiting and envying others for having "good luck."
17. Never excuse oneself by the fact that everybody else has been doing the same thing; for while one's fellow people are asleep, it is one's duty and opportunity for leadership.

(B) *Suggested Group Activities.* We Chinese are often said to lack the ability to organize and coöperate. Individually, we are perhaps as good and capable as any other people of the world; but collectively, we are very much like a heap of loose sand. However, though we may admit this to be the fact, we should not interpret it as something inborn with our race. It is largely due to some weakness in our old system of training. By careful analyzing, eliminating, and correcting the undesirable practices in our traditional system of education, we can surely generate a new spirit in our race. As for the American-born Chinese, the problem of coöperation is made easier by the fact that they have learned in American public schools and society at large many good qualities necessary for group activity and organization. Such qualities are, for instance, sportsmanship, fair play, tolerance, respect for the rights and opinions of other people, self-sacrifice, understanding, generosity, et cetera. What they need is, therefore, to select and determine the most worth while activi-

ties, which may be illustrated by the following sample program for the improvement of the present and future conditions of the Chinese in America:

I. *The Supreme Purpose of All Organizations.* To secure a better social economic and cultural status of all Chinese in America.

II. *Educational Activities.* The most important educational activities for the second-generation Chinese are along two major lines:

(a) *Concerning American Public-School Education.* The educational interests of the American people are generally represented by the board of education. Since the Chinese, even with a large population in a city like San Francisco, can never hope to have a Chinese member on the board, it is doubtful whether the educational interests and needs of the Chinese American have ever been considered. One simple instance for the writer to have such a doubt is the negligence of Chinese language and culture even in those schools where the entire student body, or a large percentage of it, are Chinese children. Hence, it seems advisable for the grown-up second-generation Chinese to have some sort of educational organization to consider their educational needs and interests, and then make suggestions to or coöperate with the city board of education for any necessary adjustment.

(b) *Concerning Chinese Language and Culture.* To meet the demand for a practical knowledge of Chinese language and culture, the grown-up second-generation Chinese should not merely depend on the existing Chinese-language schools with their shortcomings in organization and in curriculum. They should organize themselves for two activities: In the first place, they should try hard to persuade their elders and the teachers to reorganize the Chinese schools on a modern basis. In the second place, they should carry on the following educational activities: (1) to organize adult classes to study modern Chinese language and culture; (2) to utilize the buildings of the existing Chinese schools and other public places for lecture, debate, forum, play, and other meetings for educational purposes; and (3) to organize library and reading circles and other informal organizations for studying Chinese language and culture.

III. *Vocational Activities.* The most needed organization for second-generation Chinese is perhaps a well-organized employment

bureau with branches in all larger Chinese communities. The more important functions of such a bureau are, for example, as follows:

- (1) To secure reliable vocational information for the members.
- (2) To offer proper guidance to younger members in choosing and preparing for future occupation.
- (3) To keep exact, detailed records for the members of their training, ability, character, experience, et cetera, so that whenever there is a position either in this country or in China, the bureau will know who is best fitted for the job and who will make a good reputation for the bureau and other members.
- (4) To cooperate with other bureaus of the same nature in China and in the United States.
- (5) To stimulate interest among the members in their preparation for life careers.

IV. *Social Activities.* In all Chinese communities in America there is plenty of opportunity for organized social work. If somebody would just take the lead, it would not be hard for him to get supporters among the energetic young men and women. What is really needed is to have a good program of important activities which will make the young folks interested in social work. The following are just a few examples of such activities as will appeal to young men and women of a higher type of ability and personality:

- (1) Campaigns for better sanitary conditions in the Chinese community.
- (2) Medical and philanthropic services to the sick, the defective, and other unfortunate people.
- (3) Campaigns against illiteracy among the Chinese population.
- (4) Campaigns against sectionalism and localism.
- (5) Studying the present and future economic possibilities of the Chinese in America.
- (6) Making systematic surveys of the economic conditions of the Chinese in America. Such surveys should be critical, scientific, and constructive, with suggestions for improvement.
- (7) A program of activities to improve the relationship between Chinese people and other nationalities in America.
- (8) Raising funds for carrying on different social activities.
- (9) Other social and recreational activities.

In conclusion, the writer wishes to state that the problem of second-generation Chinese is indeed a very difficult one,

but it is not beyond possible solution. What is needed for the second-generation Chinese is chiefly a little thinking and imagination, which will bring them to the recognition of their unique opportunity at the crucial point of life. If they just care to think, everything will gradually take care of itself.

THE THEATER AUDIENCE

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THE REACTIONS of the theatre audience vary according to the nature of the play that is presented and to the types of people who comprise the audience. It is the purpose of this study to investigate the differences between the reactions of the theater audience to the classical play and to the modern play. For the purposes of this paper, the classical play may be understood to be the historical, or "costume," play, and the modern play to be any play which has its setting in the present-day world.

Three hundred persons, chiefly students, with a few professors, at the University of Southern California, largely in the fields of sociology and speech, have answered the questions of the accompanying questionnaire. As a rule, the resultant percentages rather than the specific figures are given in order that comparisons may be more easily made. Of the 300 persons, 52.3 per cent were men, 46.7 per cent were women, and one per cent did not indicate their sex. The range in age was from sixteen to fifty years, with 17.3 per cent being nineteen; 25 per cent, twenty; 17 per cent, twenty-one. Those who ranged from twenty-two to fifty years of age comprised 27.9 per cent of the total. Further, it was found that the gross number of classical plays attended during the preceding six months by the group studied was 367, and that the gross number of modern plays attended during the same time by the same group was 1011, or more than two and one-half times the number of classical plays. The questionnaire that was used contained fifteen questions, and is reproduced here:

THE THEATER AUDIENCE

1. Which do you prefer to see, a classical play or a modern play?
2. Why do you go to a classical play?
3. Why do you go to a modern play?
4. Do you go with the same or with different persons in each case?
5. Do you feel that your status is raised or lowered or not affected by attending a classical play?
6. Do you feel that your status is raised or lowered or not affected by attending a modern play?
7. Do you attend a classical play with a critical attitude toward the actors, in other words, do you go to see how Walter Hampden will "do" *Hamlet*, or to see Hamlet as a character, in itself?
8. What effects do classical plays have upon your attitude toward life?
9. What effects do modern plays have upon your attitude toward life?
10. How far are you satisfied with modern plays; that is, with the plot, the witticisms involved, and the manner of playing?
11. When you attend a theater what evidences have you noted of the "spirit of the crowd," that is, of its appreciativeness, or its lack of appreciation?
12. How do the reactions of the audience affect your attitudes toward the play? Cite an illustration.
13. What evidence have you noted as to how the audience controls the spirit and quality of the acting upon the stage?
14. Are you easily moved to weep at a play? Do you easily grow tense?
15. Have you experienced any particular reactions toward strangers who sit next you at the theater? Please describe.
No. of times you have attended in past six months a classical play a modern play Your sex Your approximate age

In answer to the question: "Which do you prefer to see, a classical play or a modern play?" 82.7 per cent of the 300 persons voted for the modern play, as opposed to 9.3 per cent for the classical play, while 8.3 per cent reported that their preference depends upon the play, the actors, or

on the mood of the spectator. It is interesting to note the overwhelming preference for the modern play by a group composed chiefly of college people and of young people, rather than for the classical or historical play. Perhaps the element of "the brittle" in our life today may account for this reaction; we seem to have lost patience with the older, more "slow-going" plays.

TABLE I
WHY DO YOU GO TO A CLASSICAL PLAY?

<i>Purpose</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
For cultural value	39
For information upon the theater as a profession	19.3
For educational value	18
Do not go	12
Go from a sense of duty	5
To escape reality	2
To improve social status	.7
No vote	3.3

Some very revealing answers are found in Table I. In connection with the reason "For cultural value," almost every one regarded classical plays as sources of information upon educational, historical, and literary matters. Nineteen and three-tenths per cent of the persons who were questioned said that they attend classical plays in order "to keep up with the theater" along the lines of methods of directing, acting, and producing. Under the item of "educational value," one person gave as her reason: "To see modes of dress, manners, and habits of thought and practice of that time." Another said: "For curiosity, or because 'Mrs. Jones' did." Another: "I must go to fulfill some English course requirement. To force myself to see what is supposed to be the best." One woman stated that she attended "To enjoy the beauty and appeal to my imagination." Another: "To get a first-hand view of the exag-

gerated presentation of the life of the people in previous years." Other answers were: "To see in real life, those classics I have read," and "To become stimulated to read better literature."

TABLE II

WHY DO YOU GO TO A MODERN PLAY?

<i>Purpose</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
For sheer entertainment	72.3
To see modern incidents and situations and styles	10.3
For educational entertainment	3.3
To see the acting	2.7
Because the play was recommended	2.3
To see the plot and hear the repartee	2.
To see the spectacle of stage presentation	2.
To escape reality	1.7
For curiosity	1.
Because the play was a success in New York and London	1.
No vote	1.3

It will be seen that practically every item in Table II relates to entertainment and enjoyment. One person said that he went to a modern play only when there was no classical play to see, but this attitude is extremely rare. Another man preferred a modern play because it makes him "competent to judge life's situations."

Further answers were given as follows:

"To see the clothes if it is a drawing-room drama, or to see the new technique in presentation, or to see the play as literature."

"To get modern viewpoints, manners, customs, and to see how other people think."

"To see some of the reactions of artists of today concerning modern life."

"To follow the plot and to watch styles and manners."

"Usually for amusement, but I notice new devices used in speech work today."

"To acquaint myself with my contemporaries."

With reference to the question: "Do you go with the same, or with different persons, according to the type of play?" more than one half, or 52.3 per cent, reported that they go with certain friends to the classical play and with other persons to the modern play. Out of the 157 people who go with different persons to the two types of plays, it would seem fair to say that a majority choose to do this, since they feel more at home with one type of company at a modern play and with another at a classical play. Forty-one and seven-tenths per cent, or 125 persons, stated that they attend both types of plays with the same company and that the difference in the sort of play makes no difference in their choice of companions.

A total of 139 persons (46.3 per cent) stated that their status was raised by attending a classical play, while 134 persons (44.7 per cent) felt that their status was not affected. One person explained: "It gives me a feeling of scholarliness." Other replies were:

"I sometimes feel that I have improved myself."

"Status is raised because a classical play centers around that which usually has been studied critically in school but not seen."

"Raised in one group but not affected in another."

Sixty-three and seven-tenths per cent of the 300 reported that their status was neither raised nor lowered by attending a modern play, while 28.3 per cent decided that their status was raised. "It is the thing to do" to go to the theater (irrespective of whether the play is classical or modern). Only seven persons seemed to be worried about a lowering of status. In comparing the replies, we see that many more persons feel that their status is raised by attending a play when it is of the classical type. Perhaps this may be a motive in going to a classical play in the

minds of many people. Another consideration is this: some persons seem to realize that their status varies with their social groups; it varies according to the group's differing degrees of appreciation of classical or modern plays. Finally, it is evident that many of the persons who replied had little definite knowledge of the meaning of the term, status.

TABLE III

DO YOU ATTEND A CLASSICAL PLAY WITH A CRITICAL ATTITUDE TOWARD THE ACTORS; IN OTHER WORDS, DO YOU GO TO SEE HOW WALTER HAMPDEN WILL "DO" *Hamlet*, OR TO SEE HAMLET AS A CHARACTER, IN ITSELF?

<i>Purpose</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
To see Hamlet as a character	42.
To see the acting	33.3
For both reasons	11.3
Depends upon my previous knowledge of the play	4.7
Do not go	2.7
No vote	6.

This table shows that the majority of persons attend with an imaginative and not critical approach, which, on the whole, is much better for the development of the theater. Those who carry with them a critical attitude in theater-going are probably primarily students in speech and dramatics, for the study of this field develops in one the appreciation of the value of constructive criticism.

TABLE IV

WHAT EFFECTS DO CLASSICAL PLAYS HAVE UPON YOUR ATTITUDES TOWARD LIFE?

<i>Effects on Attitudes</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
None	32.
Give a broadening knowledge of the past	17.7
Make one reflective and serious	14.
Give an appreciation of customs and make one more tolerant	9.3
Make one optimistic and idealistic	9.
Have a depressing effect	3.3
Depends upon the play	1.7
No vote	13.

It is significant that fifty-six per cent of the 300 people are sensitive to a change of attitudes after seeing a classical play. It is also surprising that thirty-two per cent recognize no effects at all upon their attitudes.

TABLE V
WHAT EFFECTS DO MODERN PLAYS HAVE UPON YOUR ATTITUDE
TOWARD LIFE?

<i>Effects</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Little or none	33.7
They make one think about modern life and problems	23.3
They bring satisfaction and make one optimistic	12.7
They bring dissatisfaction and make one pessimistic	11.
It depends upon the play	6.
They make one more tolerant	4.3
They tend to make one imitate the actor's clothes and speech	1.
No vote	8.

Modern plays seem to make people generally less satisfied with life than classical plays do; they do not make the "classical" appeal to the imagination. It is rather strange that only 4.3 per cent of the people felt that modern plays made them more tolerant; for, to me, this is one of the most important changes in attitudes caused by seeing this type of play.

In answering the question, "How far are you satisfied with modern plays, that is, with the plot, the witticisms involved, and the manner of playing?" a total of 47.7 per cent of the people said that in general they were satisfied, although at times they were disgusted. Thirty-one and seven-tenths per cent stated that they were satisfied when the play was well done and entertaining. It is interesting that 20.7 per cent are usually not satisfied. Two people said that they preferred to have a moral attached to the play; and one said that his satisfaction depends upon his mood when he goes to the play. The general consensus of opinion was that these modern plays have low moral standards

and extremely trite plots. There was a great deal of very strong feeling upon this point of morals and triteness. The following answers will serve to illustrate this:

"They are all very trite. All end the same and usually involve the same plots and jokes."

"Majority of modern plays are not satisfactory; they are too light and unmeaningful. I prefer modern plays with moral attached."

"Witticisms often trite or vulgar. Usually played too fast."

TABLE VI

WHEN YOU ATTEND A THEATER, WHAT EVIDENCE HAVE YOU NOTED OF THE "SPIRIT OF THE CROWD," THAT IS, OF ITS APPRECIATIVENESS, OR OF ITS LACK OF APPRECIATION?

<i>Crowd Reactions</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Emotional response: laughter, tears, sighs, boos, jeers, or applause	37.
Indifference	15.7
Response to good acting, or poor acting, through intense stillness, or restlessness	13.3
It depends upon the play	12.
Comments of the individuals in the audience	4.7
No vote	25.3

Two persons said that audiences often pretend to enjoy a play, out of courtesy, when they are really bored. Two others felt that they had seen great emotional heights reached by an audience, and one of these gave an example of an audience's rising and singing "The Star-Spangled Banner" at the close of *Cavalcade*. There were many people who either did not answer the question, or who said that they had never noted any evidence of crowd spirit at all.

TABLE VII

HOW DO THE REACTIONS OF THE AUDIENCE AFFECT YOUR ATTITUDES
TOWARD THE PLAY?

<i>Reactions</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Contagious approval is influential	34.3
Not affected by audience	26.7
Disgusted by audience	16.
Contagious criticism is influential	6.3
Makes one think	3.7
No vote	16.3

A large number seemed not to be sensitive to this phase of audience-psychology. Contagious criticism seems to me more prevalent than this table shows, for it is always easier to join in criticism than to defend the good points of a play. On the other hand, one third of the group felt that the strength of contagious approval generated through the sense of enjoying something together with a large number of other people was very important.

In regard to the question "What evidences have you noted as to how the audience controls the spirit and quality of the acting upon the stage?" an almost unanimous opinion was given that an appreciative audience stimulates the actors to do their best, and consequently contributes to the success of the play. Two people gave a novel reply; they said that only amateurs were affected by the spirit of the audience, and that professional actors were trained not to be affected. This, of course, is an error, for every actor knows how much the playing time of a performance may vary, according to the receptiveness of his audience.

As an answer to the inquiry: "Are you easily moved to weep at a play?" 74.7 per cent gave an emphatic "No"; while 24.3 per cent said that they were easily moved to weep. A surprising number in the latter case! Fifty-nine per cent said that they do easily grow tense at a play, and 35 per cent said "No." Three per cent admitted that only sometimes did they have a tense feeling.

TABLE VIII

HAVE YOU EXPERIENCED ANY PARTICULAR REACTIONS TOWARD STRANGERS WHO SIT NEXT TO YOU AT THE THEATER? PLEASE DESCRIBE.

<i>Reactions</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Annoyed at disturbances, such as taking both arms of the seat, talking, eating candy, etc.	54.
No reactions	25.3
Enjoy watching reactions of audiences	10.7
Feel companionable toward them in a dramatic play, if they are pleasant	1.7
No vote	10.3

The strongest opinions were of disgust for annoying neighbors. Beyond this, there was little attention paid to them. One man said: "I could cheerfully strangle people who talk, whisper, read titles aloud, tell what the actor is doing, eat candy, et cetera." This is only one of the many strong outbursts of feeling upon this subject.

The detailed results may be studied to the greatest advantage from the tabulations. It has seemed desirable, however, to gather together the major conclusions from the various questions. In general, this study has shown:

That modern plays are overwhelmingly more popular than classical plays.

That most people go to classical plays for either cultural or dramatic education.

That most people go to modern plays for entertainment alone.

That many go to classical plays and to modern plays with different types of friends.

That many people feel that their status is raised, and that an almost equal number feel that it is not affected, by attending a classical play.

That many feel that their status is not affected in attending a modern play.

That many more go to see a play with an uncritical attitude toward the acting, than those who go with a critical attitude.

That many feel that their attitudes toward life are not affected by either the classical or the modern play.

That people are in general satisfied with modern plays, although they are easily disgusted.

That the chief evidences of the crowd spirit are found in restlessness or in stillness.

That the evidences of contagious approval represent the greatest effect the audience has upon the average spectator of a play.

That the spirit of the audience has a great effect upon the spirit and quality of the acting.

That most people are not easily moved to weep, but that many easily grow tense.

That the most positive reactions to strangers sitting next to one are the unfavorable ones, aroused by annoyances.

ECOLOGICAL VERSUS SOCIAL INTERACTION

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SOCIOLOGISTS who have written about human ecology seem to agree that it is primarily concerned with the spatial distribution of human phenomena. McKenzie, who first formulated a definition of this branch of theory said:

In the absence of any precedent let us tentatively define human ecology as a study of the spatial, distributive, and accommodative forces as affected by the selective, distributive, and accommodative forces of the environment. Human ecology is fundamentally interested in the effect of position, in both time and space, upon human institutions and human behavior.¹

In a later formulation McKenzie says that:

Human ecology deals with the spatial aspects of the symbiotic relations of human beings and human institutions. It aims to discover the principles and factors involved in the changing patterns of spatial arrangement of population and institutions. . . .²

Further recognition of the central importance of space distribution in the study of human ecology is found in the emphasis upon community, neighborhood, and regional studies by ecologists as contrasted with studies of non-territorial groups by other sociologists. This distinction is fundamental in the treatment of the concepts *community* versus *society* by Park and Burgess although, unfortunately it is not clearly stated by them.³

¹ Park, Burgess, and McKenzie: *The City*, pp. 63-4.

² McKenzie, R. D. "Human Ecology," (*Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. V), p. 314.

³ Park, R. E., and E. W. Burgess, (*Introduction to the Science of Sociology*), Chap. III.

The emphasis upon space distribution as a fundamental characteristic of the ecological approach has resulted in the assumption by some writers that any study which treats the spatial spread of human phenomena is, by reason of that single fact, ecological. This position seems untenable. Mere description or counting of units within an area, no matter how painstaking and complete the descriptive study may be, is not ecological in itself. To be truly ecological a study must include some degree of conceptual analysis that attempts to make intelligible the spatial relations that have been observed. The distinguishing trait of the ecological approach lies in the nature of the special interactive process which it studies. The primary purpose of these paragraphs is to delimit more precisely the field of human ecology by contrasting that form of interaction which is peculiarly ecological with that which is social.

Human relations display a twofold nature—ecological and social. This dual nature is particularly obvious when human phenomena are studied in a spatial setting—community, neighborhood, or region. Perhaps the greatest share of credit for distinguishing between these two aspects of interaction and for popularizing the distinction among sociologists belongs to Professors R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess. Their treatment of *competition* versus *conflict* contains penetrating analyses and brilliant flashes of insight. They have failed, however, to carry the distinction to its logical conclusion in that they have classified the ecological process as one of the four major forms of social interaction. It seems to the present writer that ecological influencing takes place on a level different from the social and should be clearly distinguished from it.

In order to clarify this position I shall restate some simple but fundamental points of method: All reality is exceedingly complex. One of the primary functions of

science is to simplify this complex reality by abstracting some aspect of it. Various branches of science select for their emphases distinctive aspects from the same reality. Thus the chemist may study man as a chemical complex; the zoologist, as a biological organism; and the sociologist, as a person. Similarly, different aspects of the relations between men may be abstracted and studied by different groups of scientists. For example it would be theoretically possible, although not fruitful, for the physicist who abstracts the principle of universal gravitation as a fundamental relationship between all masses of material, to study the attraction which men have for one another as physical masses. Other possible abstractions of the relations of man to man involve organic rather than inorganic mutual influencing. According to this principle the ecologist makes an abstraction from the complex reality of human relations that is fundamentally different from other abstractions.

To the ecologist man is essentially a biological, not a social creature. His most fundamental characteristics as a living organism are shared with all living creatures, plants as well as animals. Every living creature must secure from its environment sufficient resources to meet its needs if it is to survive and reproduce. Wherever the amount of a particular resource is limited, those living creatures which are dependent upon it will necessarily exert an influence on one another whenever they diminish or increase the limited supply. Thus two animals in an airtight container can not live so long as either, alone, could survive. Each is partly responsible for the earlier death of the other because he has diminished the limited supply of oxygen upon which the other depended. This sort of mutual, nonsocial influencing is ecological interaction. It may be tentatively defined as the mutual modification of living creatures through the medium of a limited source of supply upon which they are each dependent.

Ecological interaction is a complex of mutual influences between organisms.

As a result of ecological interaction plants, striving to secure the necessary food, moisture, and sunlight to sustain them, arrange themselves in typical community plant complexes with typical space distributions of the residents. Similarly, human patterns of space distribution emerge as the result of this process although they are always complicated by the presence of social interaction. The distribution of population throughout the world with places of great density contrasting with unpopulated deserts and polar regions, the massing of huge populations in vast metropolitan centers, the segregation of homeless men into certain neighborhoods of the city,—these are illustrations of human space distributions and changes which the ecologist attempts to explain.

Ecological interaction as here conceived is obviously not a social process. It is similar to, if not identical with, the competitive process as conceived by Park and Burgess. On the whole and in the long run it determines the position of the individual in space and in the division of labor. It furnishes a basic framework for the social structure, but is not, itself, social.

Social interaction, as contrasted with ecological influencing, takes place on a different level. Man, the social unit, is not a mere living organism but a person with status. Persons modify one another through communication; each penetrates the mind of the other; each includes the other within himself, in some degree, by taking the other's rôle; each participates with others in common meanings. Conversation between friends, discussion between instructor and students in class, debate in political meetings, fusion of a crowd into a psychological unity,—these are social phenomena which imply the abstraction of a direct, status-affecting form of interaction quite distinct from the ecological influencing of living organisms as above defined.

Complex human relations are seldom, if ever, to be completely explained by either ecological or social interaction alone. Each contributes its part to the complete analysis. The ecologist may describe and analyze the aggregation of men in an area, the segregation of types into subareas of the larger community, or the invasion and succession of types within an area, but he cannot, as an ecologist, explain such phenomena as institutional organization and change, growth and activities of social groups, or organization and disorganization of personalities. Each type of theory supplements the other but cannot supplant it. The use of ecological indices as a short-cut method of investigating social life presents a stimulating challenge to students who are interested in determining more exactly the nature and extent of correspondence between ecological and social interaction.

The identification of the term *competition* as the basic ecological process is in some ways unfortunate. Ecological interaction is not always a competitive process, in the sense that competition implies opposition. In some situations living creatures benefit each other by increasing the supply of resources upon which each depends, as in the balanced aquarium. Such mutual reënforcement cannot be adequately subsumed even under the concept of *competitive-coöperation*. The term *competition* is, therefore, not sufficiently broad to include all forms of ecological interaction. On the other hand the term *competition* is badly needed to designate a particular form of social opposition. Future terminological development should recognize that competition, mutual reënforcement, adjustment, and so on, are general forms of mutual influencing which may be discovered on both the social and ecological levels.

Nothing that has been said should be interpreted to mean that human ecology is identical with plant ecology. It is

obvious that humans are more mobile than plants, which can change their space locations only between generations unless they receive external aid. Human space relations may, therefore, change more rapidly than those of plants. A more fundamental distinction inheres in the fact of man's culture. Human appetites are culturally defined. Persons with widely varying standards of living and diverse tastes for food, shelter, and clothing make radically different demands upon their environment. Their distribution within an area and their relations with other areas depend, further, upon the nature of their techniques for the extraction and transportation of raw materials or for the communication of information. Human ecology can be profitably pursued only when it starts from a knowledge of the culture of human, biological creatures.⁴ But the use of cultural devices to satisfy the culturally defined demands of mobile men does not alter the essential characteristics that human ecological interaction has in common with that of plants and animals.

⁴ See McKenzie's distinction between human and plant ecology, *loc. cit.*

THE MEXICAN STRIKE AT EL MONTE, CALIFORNIA

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THE SUMMER and fall of 1933 were extremely prolific in strikes among the Mexican agricultural laborers in the southern part of California. Although, up to that time, the Mexican workers had been regarded as having little inclination or ability for organization, and although they have seldom engaged in any sort of organized labor conflicts, strikes of considerable magnitude broke out in all the more important centers where migratory Mexican labor was being employed. The first of these outbreaks to attract public attention was the strike of the berry pickers in the San Gabriel Valley, which began near El Monte about June first. This strike affected a few American¹ farmers, but it was directed chiefly against the Japanese growers because they employed most of the casual labor used in that area.

There seems to have been no special reason in this community for a conflict along racial lines. El Monte is an agricultural center of approximately 4,000 inhabitants and with a trade area of some 12,000 population. It is located thirteen miles east of Los Angeles. The population of the trade area is composed of about seventy-five per cent Americans of European extraction, twenty per cent Mexicans, and five per cent Japanese. There are no important Japanese business establishments in the town. The Japanese live on farms in the outlying districts, and they pay

¹ The use of the word "American" to designate those residents of the United States who are of European ancestry is not desirable, since the Mexicans are "Americans" also. It seems, however, to be the most nearly suitable term available.

good returns to the American owners for the lands that they use. The Mexicans live in three separate communities which vary considerably in the size, as well as in the economic status and the mobility, of their populations. The largest and poorest of these areas is known as Hick's Camp. It is a veritable shack town located across a dry river gulch from El Monte proper. There are some 1,100 people, many of whom are migratory workers, living in this place. They possess practically no indigenous social organization except their family groups. Both the Japanese and the Mexican populations have been decreasing in proportion to the Americans during the last decade; and, although there has been some feeling among the various racial groups, the situation as a whole seems to have been peaceful.

The fundamental condition out of which the strike developed appears to have been that the Mexicans have commonly been regarded as "cheap labor." Wages were low. Everyone who was in a position to form an unbiased opinion agreed that they were too low. A Japanese who held an important office in the local Japanese association reported that in some cases berry pickers were paid as little as nine cents an hour, and some of the strike leaders made the story even worse. The first wage agreement signed by both sides was not completed until July sixth, which was after the end of the berry-picking season; but the fact that it called for a minimum wage of twenty cents an hour for temporary employment and of \$1.50 for a nine-hour day on steady work gives some indication of the general level of the wages paid. And even at these wages not all of the Mexicans were employed. Among those Mexicans who were working, however, the whole family worked together; and, as a family, they managed to earn a considerable amount. Everyone, except the strikers themselves, re-

ported that the Japanese could not pay more. The market price of their products was not enough to pay for producing and marketing.

Just a few days before the end of May, 1933, about twenty men appeared at the home of the secretary of the Japanese Association of San Gabriel Valley. They were mostly Americans, but with them were several Mexicans and Japanese and two women. They demanded higher wages for the berry pickers, although a little questioning easily revealed that they knew little about berries or berry picking. Getting little satisfaction in this way, these men then proceeded to call meetings in Hick's Camp and to arouse much excitement among the Mexicans. And so, on the first of June, a meeting of Mexican workers at Hick's Camp voted to strike.

These original leaders of the strike were not members of the local community, and the available evidence seemed to indicate that some of them were Communists. A deputy sheriff recognized one of the men as an agitator whom he had known in previous labor disturbances in Montana. The strikers and others who contacted these people believed that they were Communists, and in several instances an individual member of the group told a Mexican that he was a Communist. A member of the Regional Labor Board and also a Los Angeles labor organizer have reported that the Industrial Union of Mexican Cannery and Agricultural Workers is a branch of the Trade Union Unity League, a known Communist organization. Many of the dodgers circulated during the strike bore the name of this union, and the writer has seen cards of this union in the possession of some of the Mexicans.

The local Mexicans had had no thought of striking, and, of course, they had no reserves of supplies on which to live while carrying out such a project. Furthermore, they

feared and disliked these outsiders. Therefore, a young Mexican preacher went to the Mexican Consulate for help, entirely against the wishes of the Communist group.

In order to present a clear picture from this point on it is necessary to go back a step into local Mexican history. In 1928, as a result of strikes among the lettuce pickers, a large Mexican labor organization was formed, known as the *Confederacion de Uniones Obreras Mexicanas*, or the CUOM. But the membership of this organization gradually dwindled until it consisted of only about ten small local unions. Also conflicts had developed among its leaders. By 1933, many of the leaders of this previous organization had dropped entirely out of its membership; and in the new difficulty these experienced leaders, together with new additions, formed the nucleus of a new organization, which took charge of the strike at El Monte. That the Mexican consul was interested in this new organization is shown by the report of his appearance at the conference of its representatives held later in Los Angeles,¹ and also by the fact that a young attaché of the consulate was very helpful to the Mexicans in forming the new organization.

The new Mexican organization advised the workers to continue the strike until better conditions could be obtained, but the Mexican leaders had to contest leadership with the original agitators. For a number of weeks both groups seem to have been trying to direct the movement. Finally, late in June, the police found a way to remove a group of the Communists, but the latter still continued to send their agents and circulars into the area. It seems clear that the local Mexicans did not always know which information and instructions came from the Mexican leaders and which from the other group.

¹ *Acta, De La Convencion De La Confederacion De Uniones De Campesinos y Obreros Mexicanos De Edo. De California.* July 15, 1933.

As the extent of the strike increased, the new union apparently took advantage of the disturbances to organize the workers into a relatively stable body. The strike spread rapidly throughout Los Angeles County and into sections of adjoining counties. It also grew to include Mexican laborers in several different types of agriculture. This growth was apparently the result not only of continued agitation but also of the natural spreading of the strike idea and excitement among the Mexicans. In each local area Mexican unions were formed, and on July fifteenth, a convention was held in Los Angeles at which a permanent organization was established and named the *Confederacion de Uniones de Campesinos y Obreros Mexicanos del Estado de California*, or the CUCOM. This organization extended its membership rapidly in all the strike areas in California during the summer and fall. In January, 1934, a member of the executive committee estimated that CUCOM had about fifty member unions and about 5,000 members (another member says 10,000), but it was not able to exert much influence on the later strikes of the year. The leaders of this organization claimed that it was a "cultural organization," and through it they hoped to educate the Mexicans and to protect them. Some of these leaders undoubtedly felt that further strikes would be necessary in order to protect the Mexican workers from exploitation, but they all stressed the fact that they intended to keep their activities within the sanctions of the law.

Most of the Mexican workers did not understand the nature or the significance of the strike. There were a few of the Mexican leaders of the CUCOM who displayed a decided consciousness of class as well as of nationality, who berated the exploitation of the Mexicans and their indecent rate of pay, and who seemed to have some con-

ception of the power of unified action; but these were only a handful, and they were not agricultural workers. The workers themselves did not seem to be able to think in terms of a large organization, of a class, or of the benefit to an idealized whole.

The individual Mexicans generally wanted to work while they had the opportunity, but several factors combined to deter them. Although many of the workers did not seem to know exactly who it was that was preventing them from taking the jobs, they felt that they were being restrained. This restraint may have been partially a result of direct threats by the agitators, but these original organizers also succeeded in arousing great excitement among a part of the workers. They not only promised higher wages, but they issued mimeographed circulars telling the workers of the wrongs being done to them; and they called large meetings of the Mexicans in Hick's Camp, at which the speakers made all sorts of promises and accusations. An official of the Federal Farm Labor Service reported at the time that "They [the Mexicans of Hick's Camp] are union-mad and have been lead to believe that the government [of Mexico] upholds them in their stand." This "madness" caused many of the workers to take a lively part in the strike activities and to try to keep other Mexicans from working. Even these most active Mexican participants, however, did not like the Communists. But when the Mexican leaders of CUCOM appeared, the strikers welcomed them as friends and came to believe that the government of Mexico was surely back of the movement. A final factor which helped to keep the less excited Mexicans satisfied during the latter part of the struggle was the fact that both the county and the CUCOM furnished food for the unemployed.

With the end of the strike the local activities of CUCOM largely ceased, but traces of ill will remained in

the hearts of the workers. Some of them felt that they had been cheated out of their usual summer earnings. Most of the Mexicans with whom the writer talked admitted that the Japanese were making little profit on their crops; but, nevertheless, they felt that the Japanese were able to pay better wages if they wanted to and that the employers had not, and would not, live up to their agreements. Some of them felt very strongly that the Japanese had discriminated against the strikers after the agreement had been signed. Finally, although many of the Mexican workers hoped that there would not be another strike, there had been called to their attention in a very dramatic manner the fact that they were underpaid.

The able leader of the Japanese, the secretary of their local association, maintained a calm attitude throughout the disturbance. He felt that the Mexican workers were foolish and ignorant and had been easily misled by outside agitators. While he was evidently not particularly worried about the Mexicans, he was anxious to prevent the Americans from becoming angry with the Japanese. Neither was he greatly troubled about the crops, for he believed that the Japanese could harvest most of the produce themselves, and that what loss did occur would be compensated for by higher prices.

The Japanese farmers, however, were greatly troubled and somewhat confused. They felt that they must harvest their crops, which represented their means of existence. They were angry with the Mexicans for thus causing them to lose their produce, but their cultural backgrounds prevented them from offering physical resistance to the Mexican strikers. In so far as they were not sure of their own legal rights and did not know the techniques for securing aid from existing American institutions, they were confused.

Somewhat more informed concerning American ways were the second-generation Japanese young people, who took an active part in the situation. And it appears to have been largely through the efforts of this younger group that the Japanese school children were released from school for a few days to work in the fields.

The temporary settlement of the strike early in July left the Japanese resentful and apprehensive. It is quite probable that the terms of the agreement were not understood by the "rank and file" of either side, and each side charged that the members of the other were violating the contract.¹ Such violations undoubtedly occurred on both sides, and it seems clear that some of the Japanese farmers found considerable satisfaction in refusing to hire former strikers. They even brought a number of Japanese laborers from Los Angeles to replace Mexican workers. Most of the Japanese felt that the Mexicans had been foolish and easily led astray, and they were more than ever convinced of their own superiority. Furthermore, the Japanese were fearful that new troubles would develop with the return of another season.

The attitudes of the Americans in the community were apparently largely favorable to the Japanese. Some of the American laborers undoubtedly sympathized with the Mexicans, and the union of the men who work on the county relief jobs urged support of the strike, but this pro-Mexican attitude did not seem to be dominant in the community. A number of persons who are in close touch with the community life reported that, since the Japanese pay good returns to citizens for the land they use, many of these citizens supported the Japanese. The Americans

¹ This agreement marked the official end of the strike; but, from the viewpoint of the social attitudes involved, it was but one of a series of incidents in the course of the strike. The strike was apparently already subsiding before the agreement, and the antagonistic attitudes continued after it.

interviewed agreed that the local Mexicans did not really want to strike; that the chief blame should be laid on the shoulders of the outside agitators; that the Mexicans were foolish to strike, since their only reward was the loss of their usual earnings; but that wages had really been too low. They maintained that the Japanese were unable to pay higher wages. Also these Americans were considerably irritated by the general disturbance of community life occasioned by the strike and especially by the boisterous movements of large groups of excited Mexicans about the community.

The local business men were especially resentful. They charged that the Mexicans "wanted to live off the county"; and they felt that the cost of relief and education for the Mexicans was already a heavy burden on the community. Furthermore, this business group was anxious that the Mexicans should have their usual work in order that they might have money to spend in local establishments. In cases where Mexicans struck against American employers, these employers hired American laborers, armed themselves, and warned the agitators away.

With the cessation of the open conflict and the lapsing of public interest in the strike, most of the members of the local community concluded that the outbreak had made no change in the community situation. The materials of this study, however, suggest that changes in social organization and attitudes had taken place. The activities of the original agitators had called general attention to the abnormally low wages and the bad working conditions of the Mexicans. As a result of this centering of public attention the CUCOM had been organized to further cooperation among the workers themselves. Finally, there seems to have been an increase of social distance between

the Japanese and the Mexicans from the points of view of both of these groups, and there also seems to have been an increase in distance between the Americans and the Mexicans from the viewpoint of the Americans. If there was any change in the relationships of the Americans and the Japanese, it was a lessening of social distance.

THE FILIPINO PRESS IN THE UNITED STATES

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THE FILIPINO PRESS in the United States includes newspapers, magazines, and more often, combinations of these. The combined newspaper-magazine contains news items, editorials, signed articles, the efforts of columnists, photographs, and advertising. Its up-to-dateness illustrates the Filipino leader's mental alertness. The newspaper-magazine is a sound or wise combination, for the clientele is not large enough to justify the publication of a regular newspaper or a magazine as such in very many centers in the United States.¹

The Filipino press in the United States is unique in that relatively many publications are printed for a total population that is very limited in numbers. Los Angeles, the largest Filipino center in the United States, has a Filipino population of six to eight thousand.² When it is considered that as many as six or eight newspaper-magazines are published at the same time in Los Angeles for a total population not exceeding that many thousand, the prolific nature of the Filipino press is evident. Of course the subscription list of most of these publications is necessarily small.³

¹ The total Filipino population in the United States was given by the Census of 1930 as 45,208, which of course was widely distributed and had a number of centers, such as Los Angeles, Stockton, San Francisco, Seattle, Chicago, New York, and Washington, D. C.

² These figures are based on as reliable estimates as can be obtained for 1934 from a number of sources. The actual number of Filipinos in Los Angeles varies greatly from season to season, being considerably smaller in the summer than in the winter. Agriculture draws many Filipinos out of the city in the summer. Some Filipinos travel as far away as Alaska for work in the salmon canneries in the summer but return to Los Angeles in the winter.

³ In the Philippine Islands a somewhat similar situation obtains, judging by the comment of Brunó Lasker, *Filipino Immigration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931), p. 226.

This press centers on political matters, and particularly on the question of the independence of the Philippines. Practically all the publications and many of the editorials regularly urge Philippine independence. Despite the emotional element in the desire for the coveted goal, practically all the arguments are presented with restraint and with consideration for the feelings of Americans.

The Filipino newspaper-magazine is unique in that it is distinctly a leadership phenomenon. It is usually the result of the individual initiative of one person, better educated and more aggressive than his fellows, with a dominant mental urge. It is also the result of the loyalty and activities of a group of followers whom the leader has been able to draw about himself. It reminds one of the early newspaper history of the United States, where the editor became an independent center of journalistic activity. Energy and earnestness are outstanding characteristics of the Filipino editor; and loyalty and enthusiasm, characteristics of the staff. The personnel as given on the editorial page is often an imposing roster of the friends of the editor. The product is a personality organ of significance. Mr. Benicio Catapusan says:

But despite their financial handicap, some have been able to continue the good work they have started through the spirit of coöperation, service, and sometimes through friendship existing between the editor and his staff reporters. They feel that they are doing something unique for their countrymen, if they can put out a Filipino paper, wherein public opinion concerning Philippine affairs can be expressed freely and at will.⁴

In only a small number of cases has the Filipino press in the United States reached relative permanence. In these instances, an extensive social or business organization has

⁴ *The Filipinos in Los Angeles* (master's thesis, University of Southern California, 1934).

been built up, often around one person, and a continuous clientele has thereby been maintained. The successful Filipino press is a testimony to the joint rôle of leadership and organization.

The fact that there is a large turnover in the Filipino press in the United States and that many publications do not survive more than a year and a half or two years is often due to lack of financial resources and backing. A given editor inaugurates his publication with missionary zeal, but, like most missionaries, cannot keep on forever without material support. While the editor can count upon the assistance of many friends who will work for his newspaper-magazine without pay, and while he himself often is willing to take his pay in terms of personal satisfaction, yet something more is needed in order to meet the bills. Many copies of the earliest issues of a given publication are sent out freely both to friends in the United States and in the Philippines.

Copies of these Los Angeles Filipino newspapers are sent to friends and politicians throughout the United States, and to the homeland "gratis," so that, on the whole, most of these Filipino papers are not run for profit only, but also for political reasons. They are published through the effort and sacrifices of the editors. With the little money that they can collect from subscriptions and advertisements they are able to keep on, and have the news and a few ideas put into print.⁵

If Filipino editor-leaders could unite their interests and resources, and find a common ground for sharing the responsibility of a newspaper-magazine, a real advance could be made. One strong Filipino publication in a given area has many advantages over the large turnover of Filipino press. It would help Filipinos to work together, not only for their great desire for independence, but also for

⁵ Benicio T. Catapusan, *op. cit.*

solutions to their many social, economic, recreational, and other problems in the United States. A joint publication on the part of several Filipino leaders, however, is difficult to realize, for one of the failures of leaders among all races is inability to work with other leaders. Yet such a publication would greatly increase the status of Filipinos both here and in the homeland.⁶

As has been suggested by Mr. Catapusan⁷ the numerous publications by Filipino immigrants are an evidence of considerable intellectual activity. There is need that more space be given in the Filipino press to studies of social and economic conditions. Space that is now devoted to items of doubtful importance might be made available. If "the desire for expression" that is shown by some Filipinos on levels of minor significance could be turned to higher levels progress would be made. Dr. Serafin E. Nacaraig of the University of the Philippines points out how this desire for expression is evident "in the crowded columns of newspapers which give room to the 'Poets' Corner,' '*Palenque de Opinion*,' 'Students' Page,' and 'Our Readers Views on Lively Topics.'" He indicates that "the articles for such pages are so numerous, ranging from the ridiculous to the tragic, that the news space of the papers concerned may all be filled up if they will give vent to the desires of our young people to express themselves."⁸

A joint Filipino publication in the United States might need at first to publish its materials in four dialects or languages, namely, Tagalog, Visayan, Ilocano, and English. In this way Filipino immigrants could learn to think together better than is now possible for them to do. They

⁶ The rôle that status plays among Filipinos is very noticeable and on the whole commendable. See Marcos P. Berbaño, *The Social Status of the Filipinos in the County of Los Angeles* (master's thesis, University of Southern California, 1931).

⁷ In his master's thesis, *op. cit.*

⁸ *Social Problems* (Manila, P.I.: The Educational Supply Co., 1929), p. 74.

would be in a position to take a forward step in solving their problems in the United States. Filipinos in this country have many real needs that are by no means limited to "independence," or to the promoting of the leadership ambitions of a few individuals. These needs include occupational adjustments, educational opportunities, better living conditions, more wholesome recreations, better social opportunities.

Inasmuch as the rank and file of the Filipinos in the United States are all young men, are mentally alert, are ambitious and anxious to get ahead occupationally, and are possessed of strong educational urges, there is no reason why the present situation might not be greatly strengthened by the development of a coöperative press dedicated to meeting the human needs of Filipinos in the United States, many of whom are suffering greatly from loss of work, disillusionment, inadequate social life, and a scarcity of sympathetic and understanding contacts with the citizens of the United States.

Social Research Notes

CHILD LABOR

BESSIE AVERNE McCLENAHAN

CHILD LABOR FACTS. National Child Labor Committee, 331 Fourth Avenue, New York City. Pub. No. 366, December, 1932. (31 pp.) (25 cents).

CHILDREN IN INDUSTRY. EDITH PUTNAM MANGOLD, Pub. by the Department of Child Welfare, National League of Women Voters, 726 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C., January, 1934. (31 pp.) (15 cents).

These two pamphlets bring us the most recent word concerning the problem of child labor which is defined as "the work of children under conditions that interfere with their physical development, education, and opportunities for recreation. It is the employment of children at unfit ages, for unreasonable hours, under unhealthful or hazardous conditions, or while school is in session."¹ Both reports review the nature and extent of child labor; the history and present status of legislation designed to control it; desirable standards for control of the employment of children; and brief bibliographies.

In the pamphlet by Mrs. Mangold, who is the chairman of Child Welfare of the National League of Women Voters, we have the more detailed presentation of the historical background of child labor. Outstanding features are the analysis of the arguments advanced against child labor legislation and the development of a social philosophy for the citizen. The closing section is a brief statement of "Trends and Outlook."

Child Labor Facts is a terse, well-organized presentation of the subject, designed doubtless for general consumption. It is illustrated with pictures of employed children and carries well-chosen statistical summaries; for example, "Children Engaged in Gainful Occupations (10-15 years, inclusive)" by states, number, and per cent; and "Occupational Distribution of Child Workers (10-15 years, inclusive)." At the close of several sections of the report is a brief bibliography. Publications of the National Child Labor Committee are listed.

Children in Industry is an excellent handbook for the layman and laywoman. It is especially opportune because of the renewed opposition to the passage of the so-called "Children's Amendment" by the state legislatures. To date,² twenty states have ratified the amend-

¹ From the "Foreword," *Child Labor Facts*.

² June, 1934.

ment which is "purely a grant of power to Congress to legislate for the control of child labor."³ To stimulate thinking about child labor and to crystallize opinion, Mrs. Mangold has suggested twenty-eight questions for study, the last one of which reads as follows: "Outline for your use the child-labor situation in your state and locality, with attention to your special problems and the first steps to be taken to better conditions."⁴

These two pamphlets are valuable not only to the lay person but to teachers and students and should be available in every college and high school reference library.

Note— PROFESSOR LOEWENTHAL, Editor of the *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* (Journal of Social Research), 91, Rue De Lausanne, Geneva, Switzerland, proposes to publish accounts of major social research work by American writers in his Journal in order to induce closer working coöperation between European and American research. Please send in an account of your work either directly to Professor Loewenthal or to the Journal of Social Research to be relayed to him.

UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF IN PENNSYLVANIA. Report of the Executive Director of the State Emergency Relief Board of Pennsylvania, 1933, pp. 97.

This volume substantiates the wide-spread belief that Pennsylvania has one of the best systems for the administration of unemployment relief. The basis for unemployment relief is broad and includes an understanding of the complex issues of national economic and industrial recovery; psychological factors governing the life of the unemployed man; social factors determining the standards of relief, client-social worker relationships and the relationships between the general public and the social welfare agencies. In addition to the general administrative set-up known to most emergency relief organizations, Pennsylvania has a Research and Planning Division, a Public Relations Division, a Community Market Division, a Thrift Garden Division.

It is interesting to note that the average monthly food grants per case were steadily rising from \$7.23 in September, 1932 to \$16.29 in October, 1933. The total case load for 1932-33 was 323,601, and the total expenditures for the same period was \$83,837,904, of which amount \$70,917,930 was for food relief, while the balance included cash relief, shoes, fuel, thrift gardens, administrative, and miscellaneous. These research studies prove that the work of the paid trained case workers, as well as a reduction of the case-load, effect a substantial saving to the taxpayer.

P. V. Y.

³ *Children in Industry*, p. 23.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 30.

Book Notes

SOCIOLOGY, by EMORY S. BOGARDUS, Professor of Sociology, University of Southern California, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1934. 415 pages.

This book is really an enlarged revision of Dr. Bogardus' book *Introduction to Sociology* which was first published in 1913, and which has appeared in five previous editions. In the Preface a brief statement indicates the point of view:

The volume centers attention on sociology as a study of social groups and particularly of the groups of which students themselves are members. In this way the reader will find sociology to be not an armchair philosophy or a subject far above his head but a science for daily application. He learns why and how persons act differently under similar circumstances and why and how they act alike under dissimilar conditions. In the pages of this book he catches a glimpse of the predictive nature of sociology.

The book is divided into three parts. I. *Group Approaches*, in which types of groups and their significance for personality and society are defined, and in which the different forces and factors affecting social development are presented. Ecological concepts such as "Natural area" and ecological processes like segregation and invasion; cultural concepts like "culture pattern" and "culture diffusion"; psycho-social interpretation in such terms as "attitudes," "values," and "social processes" serve to orient the student in the subject of sociology.

II. The second part of the book deals with *Social Groups* such as the family; the occupational, play, educational, religious, racial, and community groups. In connection with each one of these social groupings, Dr. Bogardus discusses its history, the problems connected with it, and its constructive social possibilities. III. Part three deals with *Group Organization*. Here are presented social controls of both the individual and society. Group disorganization, as manifested in poverty, unemployment, delinquency and crime is made vivid by the author and consequently real to the student. Social change and its consequences are given in concrete fashion, and individual and group responsibility are driven home by the sections on Telic Change, and the chapters on Leadership and Research.

Each chapter is followed by a list of *Problems* for discussion and suggested *Readings*. A *Sociological Reference Library*, an *Index to Proper Names*, and an *Index to Topics* complete the volume.

The book is excellently adapted to the use of college classes in Sociology and may be used either for beginning or advanced (graduate) students. It is comprehensive without being too voluminous. The style is clear and readable. It does not give the student the idea that sociology is the study of social problems, so frequently a misconception of its meaning, nor on the other hand does it involve him in a wilderness of theory. The practical and the theoretical are so successfully inter-woven that the student must inevitably make the connection between concept and fact, between his own social experiences and their explanation. While various approaches to the science of sociology are presented, the author's social-psychological point of view is evident in his skillful relating of them to each other and in his repeated emphasis upon personal responsibility for the common good.

B. A. McC.

EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY. By DANIEL H. KULP, II. Longmans, Green and Co., New York, 1932, pp. xvi+591.

The author of this work, an associate professor of education in Teachers College, Columbia University, shows himself familiar with the basic concepts of both sociology and education. He refrains from, even deprecates in large part, the philosophical treatment of the aims and objectives of education, as one finds it in the works of earlier writers. Consequently the reviewer misses that challenging and highly stimulating quality which marks the pages of Lester F. Ward and Joseph K. Hart, but finds a more prosaic task done here with lucidity and admirable thoroughness.

Dr. Kulp explicitly attempts "(1) to define and illustrate fundamental sociological concepts and analysis, and (2) to apply sociological analysis to educational agencies, processes, and objectives as they exist, that those engaged in them may better understand their task." A second volume is promised, dealing with sociological research methods as applied to educational problems. In defining and illustrating the concepts of sociology, Dr. Kulp shows himself thoroughly familiar with the field, and sticks to the self-consistent use of terminology with more faithfulness than is displayed, at times, by strictly sociological writers. He rightly divines that the latter might enter exceptions at some points, but there could hardly be serious dissent from the reviewer's assertion that his discussion is soundly sociological in the main.

The book is addressed, the preface informs us, chiefly to students; and the reviewer would add, especially to students in schools of

education and teachers in the schools. In fact, it would seem that we have here not a broad philosophy of education (Ward) nor a direct attack on educational problems as such but approached from the sociological angle (Snedden and J. K. Hart), but a systematic introduction to sociology, perhaps designed as a basic textbook on sociology for students in departments of education. While the reviewer is not sure that such a policy would be desirable, here is certainly an admirable book with which to carry it out, if such procedure were adopted.

Dr. Kulp says, "All the methods whereby culture is transmitted to the young are education. It takes two forms: acculturations and inculcations." Acculturation is natural learning in the "Great School," which is social life; inculcation is artificial (manipulated) learning in the "Little School," particularly the public schools (pp. 54—55). No matter which way it is mainly acquired "effective education depends . . . upon the similarity of what is taught and the state of culture in a community. Learnings in the Great School tend to be more truly cultural, for there they are a part of genuine participation in the going concerns of life" (66—67).

The author, after these and other definitions of the educational situation, proceeds to define and fully illustrate such fundamental sociological concepts as social forces, particularly habits and wishes, attitudes, personality, prestige, accommodation, participation, and other social processes. This leads into an exposition of crowds, public opinion, propaganda, organization, neighborhoods and communities—all treated with specific and frequent reference to school life. In fact the frequent allusions to school situations (e.g., pp. 374, 377, 378, 388, *passim*) convinces one that we have here a general sociology pitched deliberately in the school key, with the result that the reader learns much more about sociology than about education. This is an outcome much to be desired for teachers, since the great mass of them, who have not made any systematic study of sociology, or even of any special social science, are surprisingly lacking in that social approach which alone can enable them to understand what all their school activities are about.

Throughout Dr. Kulp's volume one runs across admirably vivid word pictures of specific social situations, such as the spirited portrayal of the collective behavior of animals (p. 296); educational "milling" (p. 304); the splendid exposition of constitutional method on p. 311; and some detailed rules for the writing of "constructive propaganda by teachers" on p. 347.

Book III, dealing with "Societal Problems," is packed with salient factual material to an astonishing degree, and the point of view is openly and soundly liberal at every point. This, also, is good for teachers, and even more so for boards of education.

If the present reviewer suspects that Dr. Kulp overvalues the objective quantitative method as against the qualitative evaluation and analysis, it is a trait common to our younger school of sociology; and at any rate his later volume will give full thought as to those things.

C. M. C.

ALONG THIS WAY. By JAMES WELDON JOHNSON. The Viking Press, New York, 1933, pp. 417.

One lays down this autobiography with the feeling that he has been reading a classic in its field, that he has been in touch with a remarkable person, and that the Negro's problems in the United States are far from being solved. The author of *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*, a work of fiction, has produced a superior literary and social document in *Along This Way*.

From the standpoint of achievement and leadership the author's experiences show that when one person's life touches "the life of some other individual in an apparently cursory and transient way" the contact may mark "the beginning of an important phase" of the latter's career. The conclusion is drawn: "Be, in every way, as fully prepared as possible to measure up to the 'lucky breaks' when they come."

Relative to the Negro's problems, this autobiography throws new light upon and makes vivid the way in which the Negro suffers in the United States from the unfairness, the unreasonableness, and the cruelty of white people as a whole.

Not the least valuable phases of the book are the interesting sidelights upon the life and character of presidents of the United States, including Wilson, Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover, of other leaders both white and colored, and upon national and international events, for Mr. Johnson has been a participant observer in a wide range of affairs of far-reaching importance.

E. S. B.

THE SOCIAL ECONOMICS OF AGRICULTURE. By WILSON GEE. The Macmillan Company, 1932, pp. xxxiv+696.

"The past few years have forcefully demonstrated the paramount importance of agriculture as a phase of our national life." After stating the agricultural problem, the author discusses the economic, social, and political factors involved. The textbook style is used throughout, with questions for discussion and references for further

reading added to each chapter. The latest material is summarized and organized into a systematic whole. The wide range of material used indicates the author's familiarity with the economic, social, and political aspects of rural life. Farm relief measures and movements to improve rural life are given special attention, but not from a reformist's viewpoint. It is a usable text and demonstrates the value of a synthetic approach.

M. H. N.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. ABRAHAM MYERSON. Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1934, pp. xv+640.

Social psychologists should be much interested in this new treatise on their subject, for it tends to center attention rather sharply upon a much neglected but none the less vitally important aspect of man as a social being. The author declares that a "large part of social psychology . . . concerns itself with the excitation, inhibition, and modification of the individual's visceral responses." Drawing from clinical knowledge, Dr. Myerson shows the intimate relationship between man's body and his social experiences. This discussion, not usually appearing in the standard texts, is illuminating and valuable for a deeper understanding of the motivations of human behavior. There is, of course, equal recognition of the sociological thesis that man apart from the group is a "mere potentiality."

A very fruitful discussion on gang sociality in society throws light upon sex in society, especially with reference to the rôle of the male. Gang sociality refers to the tendency of the sexes, and more especially to the tendency of the male sex, to segregate. Dr. Myerson believes that the male has an extremely strong desire to escape from a constant sexual sociality, regarding the female as an intruder. Woman, according to this theory, engages in a struggle to break up this attachment of man to his fellows, and emotionally attempts to chain the male to his home. A man may be said to be completely domesticated only when he has given up gang sociality, that is, the desire to be with male friends.

From the author's point of view, then, social psychologic forces are those which are resident within the body of man, and these resident forces create such social control conditions as man has to endure. Such societal phenomena as social control, crowd and mob, public opinion, and the like are given little attention, thus making a radical departure from the usually delineated field. It is in the nature of a supplementary text that the book will be greatly appreciated, for Dr. Myerson's contribution cannot afford to be neglected. M. J. V.

THE ART AND SCIENCE OF INTERVIEWING, A Sociological Analysis. By PAULINE V. YOUNG. Western Educational Service, Los Angeles, 1933, pp. 276 (Mimeograph edition).

Dr. Young has brought together a larger amount of valuable materials on interviewing than can be found within the covers of any other single book. She has analyzed these materials in a thoroughly sound manner and has made them available both for teaching purposes and for the daily use of the social case worker. The fundamentally sociological character of the volume is indicated by such chapters as those on the "Rôle of Personality in Interviewing" and "Special Types of Interviewing Situations." The nature of interviewing, types of interviews, the technique of interviewing, the content of the interview, ethical problems in interviewing, psychology of interviewing, and therapeutic aspects of the interview are among the interesting and important themes that are carefully considered. Interviewing is conceived as "a phenomenon in the general field of social interaction." Moreover, it "has proved to be a communicable technique."

A number of "illustrative cases" serve as excellent teaching materials and appear at appropriate points within the book. It is safe to say that every social case worker will find this document of inestimable value.

E. S. B.

ORIENT AND OCCIDENT. By Hans Kohn. The John Day Co., New York, 1934, pp. xii+140.

This book is a stimulating and fearless survey of basic conflicts and changes that are in process between nations and peoples of Orient and Occident. The Orient has learned from the Occident how to become nationalistic and autonomous. With the political changes there have been institutional changes in religion, education, labor, industry and commerce, the status of women, and in many other connections. European influences have been given due credit, but special emphasis seems to fall upon Russia, as between East and West, and upon the United States, for their achievements or aims in modernization and industrialization. The impact of the West cannot be escaped by the Orient, yet the influences for change work in both directions. Therefore, the trend is toward spiritual and social unity, the unity of mankind, "whose organization on new bases is the problem of the modern historical epoch."

J. E. N.

Social Drama Notes

THEY SHALL NOT DIE. A Play in Three Acts. By JOHN WEXLEY.
Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1934. pp. 191.

The Scottsboro case, concerning the nine Negro lads sentenced to death for the alleged assault on two white women, forms the basis for the action of this dynamic play. Its author, John Wexley, has in his two other plays, *The Last Mile* and *Steel*, battled for the oppressed, and this is no exception, save for the fact that in this latest play, his anger serves to make his battle seem more bitter than ever. It is a virtual thunderbolt hurled at southern white "justice."

Playwright Wexley opens his play by assuming that the charge of the white girls against the Negroes was invented by deputy sheriffs filled with rancor and craving for a lynching. The first act portrays in startling and vivid fashion the infliction of the "third degree" on both the white girls and the Negroes. Here is also presented a memorable picture of a jail scene that is bound to stir even the callous. The action of the drama closely parallels that of the actual case as reported in the press, carrying the story from the affair on the freight train up to the second trial. At this trial, a Jewish lawyer, working for the National Defense League, defends the Negroes, and is given a magnificent and impassioned speech by the playwright, a speech which affords a chance for real oratorical gifts. And as in actuality, one of the girls refuses to continue her perjured testimony and comes to the aid of the defense. The drama ends with the lewd laughter of the jury in their deliberation room, and one gathers that something not very pleasant is being done to Justice.

The play is definitely one with a purpose, and as such presents a vital problem which grows to great proportions at the hands of the dramatist. It is good melodrama, too, having its villains and heroes aided by stock characters. The pleas for justice in it, however, mark the play as one which should be seen or read by every real-blooded American.

M. J. V.

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH



ARTICLES IN FORTHCOMING ISSUES

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Problems of American-born Japanese.....	T. OKAWA
The Grammar of Society.....	EDGAR T. THOMPSON
Ethnic Assimilation in Omaha.....	T. EARL SULLINGER
Courtship Ideals of High School Youth.....	WILLIAM G. MATHER, JR.
Nature of Social Research.....	H. B. W.
The Course in Educational Sociology.....	LESLIE B. ZELEVNY
Social Parasitism.....	EDMUND D. BETHON
Degrees of Kinship Intimacy.....	F. STUART CHAPIN
Sociology of the Soldier in Peace Time.....	JOSEPH S. ROUCEK
Children and Racial Attitudes.....	R. ZELIGS and G. HENDRICKSON
Social Reorganization in Rural New England.....	N. L. WHITTEN
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Racial Problems in Burma.....	HATTIE M. PRICE
Personality Dominance and Leadership.....	MAPHEUS SMITH
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What is on the Mind of the New Poor.....	PAULINE V. YOUNG
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The Child Labor Amendment and Social Control.....	EDITH P. MANGOLD

ARTICLES IN PRECEDING ISSUE

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Social Distance and Personal Interviews.....	R. ZELIGS and G. HENDRICKSON
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Social Participation and Juvenile Delinquency.....	B. S. ATWOOD and E. H. SHIDLER
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Social Value of Women's Clubs.....	JOSEPH C. ROUCEK
Interracial Friendship Circles.....	JAMES G. PATRICK
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